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ABSTRACT

Information regarding women and work learned mainly, but not exclusively, through research and development (R&D) projects sponsored by the Employment and Training Administration's Office of Research and Development (ETA-ORD) is reviewed, and the future directions of policy on women are explored. The first chapter briefly summarizes two schools of thought (dualist and human resources) explaining the inferior position of women workers while data pertaining to the size of the male-female earnings gap and a review of studies offering varying explanations for the gap are contained in chapter 2. Chapters 3 and 4 cover labor market studies, including the National Longitudinal Survey, and chapter 5 reviews projects exploring barriers faced by women seeking employment. Chapter 6 discusses several experimental projects undertaken by ETA to improve the work opportunities of women, including Minority Women's Employment Program (MWEP). Other government activities that affect women at work are discussed in chapters 7 to 9: (1) Manpower programs, including the Work Incentive Program (WIN); and (2) the policies and actions of the U.S. Employment Service, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and occupational licensing authorities. The final chapter makes recommendations for future directions in R&D projects, child care, education/training, outreach employment programs, and organizing efforts. (EM)

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Women and Work

R & D Monograph 46

U.S. Department of Labor
Ray Marshall, Secretary
Employment and Training Administration
1977

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PREFACE

As the demand for labor increased and the supply decreased (as happened most dramatically during wartime) more women entered the labor force: first, single and widowed women, then married women, and finally young women with preschool children.

All have responded to demand, work opportunities, the availability of attractive jobs and wages and, above all, their own financial needs. In entering the work force, they overcame most of the historic barriers that presumably blocked their way — attitudes, culture, stereotypes, bias, training, education, family obligations. The barriers fell inevitably as demand grew. Women found that they could do men's work, that their children, at least at certain ages, usually got on well without them, that they (and their husbands) wanted and needed the income, and that working was a respectable activity for women. Necessity and opportunity (demand) initiated cultural invention and determined the quantity, or the supply, of women workers.

Still, the majority of women remain outside the work force, either because demand for their labor is insufficient or because the remaining supply barriers diminish their desire or ability to work.

The supply of women workers is also extremely responsive to changes in demand within specific occupations and industries. Thus, qualified women candidates have been found (often with the aid of outreach and some training) for openings in the most traditionally male occupations — skilled trades, engineering, police, military, various technical jobs, management. When the demand barriers to these occupations are removed by law or labor shortages, the flow of qualified women into them has proceeded with amazing speed.

This is not to say that the characteristics of women workers do not influence the amount and kind of women's labor force participation. Demand itself can be influenced significantly by the attitudes, consciousness, and organized efforts of women, as witnessed in the recent past. Certainly these supply factors have had an impact on the distribution of demand and the employment of women in nontraditional jobs. They have had little impact on the level of aggregate demand, however, since women have done rather little, through political efforts, to increase demand and employment rates.

The Employment and Training Administration's Office of Research and Development (ORD), of the U.S. Department of Labor, has undoubtedly supported more research on women and work (including the present study) than any other single sponsoring agency, public or private. This does not suggest that coverage has been exhaustive, only that it has been more ample than what can be found elsewhere.

In addressing the employment problems of the disadvantaged, the ORD has also sponsored numerous development projects that affect women workers. The original mandate of title I of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (later replaced by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) required that a program of experimental, developmental, demonstration, and pilot projects be set up for the "purpose of improving techniques and demonstrating the effectiveness of specialized methods in meeting the manpower, employment, and training problems of worker groups such as the long-term unemployed, disadvantaged youth, displaced older workers, the handicapped, members of minority groups, and other similar groups." Women, while not specifically listed, have clearly been covered among "other similar groups" in the application of the mandate.

This volume reviews what has been learned about women and work, mainly but not exclusively, from research and development (R&D) projects sponsored by the Employment and Training Administration (formerly the Manpower Administration) of the U.S. Department of Labor,[1] and explores some directions that future policy on women might follow.

[1]The reports on the projects, which are identified in footnotes, are distinguished from others cited by the designation ETA-ORD, and may be inspected at ORD. The supply of reports for distribution is exceedingly limited, and readers who want specific reports are requested to order them from the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), Operations Division, Springfield, Va. 22151, which can provide prices. For ease of identification, the accession numbers that identify the reports in NTIS files are also given in the footnotes and should be cited in querying NTIS. Accession numbers for a few reports were not available at press time; the numbers may be obtained from ORD.

Many reviews of the various topics of R&D projects have been conducted, including those on labor market analysis, job analysis, the correctional field, and methods of assessing the disadvantaged. The present review differs from the others in that it cuts across the R&D topics to select all projects bearing on women in the work force. Indeed, its scope includes most subjects covered by manpower inquiries.

The majority of the research focused on either the persistent earnings gap between men and women or one or another aspect of the labor market as it concerns women. Out of this body of research have grown two contending schools of thought to explain, and ultimately to improve, the inferior position of women workers. These are summarized in the first chapter, as background for the analyses of the male-female earnings gap presented in chapter 2. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the studies of the labor market, including the National Longitudinal Survey, which provides a unique set of data following for 5 years the experience of young women and those in the age group 30 to 44, when most have completed their families.

In chapters 5 to 9, which concern efforts to upgrade the labor market status of women, the relevant research and development projects are first reviewed. Then other government activities that affect women at work are discussed: (1) Manpower programs, including the Work Incentive Program, to which a special chapter is devoted; and (2) the policies and actions of the U.S. Employment Service, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and occupational licensing authorities. The choice of these agencies for review is not intended to (indeed, cannot) denigrate the importance of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, whose small staff has served since 1919 as the principal women's advocate within the Federal Government, although it has not had responsibility for operating programs for the direct assistance of women workers.

The final chapter reflects many of the conclusions and recommendations that emerged from a conference convened by the Women's Bureau on research needed to improve the employment and employability of women,[2] as well as the conclusions and recommendations of other students of women's employment problems. Ultimately, the author of this work is fully responsible for the selection, use, and interpretation of the data presented, as well as the conclusions drawn from the studies reviewed.

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[2]"Results of Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women" (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1976).

1. INTRODUCTION: THE DUALIST THEORY AND HUMAN RESOURCES

The dual labor market theory raises a provocative issue about women and work. In its extreme statement, the theory argues that there is a castelike division between sectors of the labor market.[1] The primary sector (or high caste) offers the good jobs: high wages, good working conditions, job security, advancement, equity, and due process in administering rules. The secondary sector offers the poor jobs: low wages and benefits, poor working conditions, job insecurity, few chances for advancement, and arbitrary supervision.

According to the dualists, minorities, and to some extent women, are more likely than others to be assigned to occupations and industries in the secondary sector and to be held there by an almost impenetrable barrier of discrimination.

Andrisani, testing the dualist theory with data from the National Longitudinal Survey of male workers, found that barriers between sectors were clearly present.[2] It is "at odds with the facts to suggest that equivalent levels of human capital, motivation, and demand render opportunities equal."[3] He also found, however, that the barriers were not impenetrable and that many people moved back and forth between the primary and the secondary sectors.

Other analysts stress the job disadvantages of women that result from inadequate investments in education, training, and other human capital resources, and they propose policies aimed at overcoming these disadvantages.

Dualists tend to view such policies as insufficient, or even futile and wasteful, in the presence of institutional discrimination. Increasing the general demand for labor (through full employment) and improving the employability of women (through education and training), while important in their view, are not enough to overcome discrimination and job disadvantages.

Some dualists talk about a "human capital overkill," and insist that educational credentials are overemphasized and unrelated to job requirements or productivity. Instead they may stress such policies as strong and enforced anti-discrimination laws, the restructuring of jobs to offer more opportunities to women, the reduction of irrelevant credentialism, unionization of the secondary sector, increased minimum wages, negative income taxes or other devices for redistributing money and power.

Many dualists believe that discrimination is so entrenched that even high levels of labor demand will not easily dislodge it. Under conditions of increased demand, they say, employers will simply divert their hiring to the secondary sector (through temporary help or subcontracting) or bid up the pay of available primary workers, rather than draw secondary workers into the primary sector. In this context, mainly prime age white men are primary workers, and secondary workers are mainly women, minorities of both sexes, the old, the young, and the handicapped.

The main policy question raised in this discussion is, To what extent is the labor market disadvantage of women and others the result of shortcomings in their education, training, motivation, commitment to work, and work experience, and to what extent is that disadvantage attributable to inequities and discrimination in the labor market, or to inadequate demand?

Like most researchers, Andrisani found a rather close association between educational attainment and job status. In other words, the greater the human resources, the higher the job status tends to be. Women of the same educational attainment as men, however, tend to have a markedly lower job status. Education and training, then, have a significantly lower payoff for women than for men, although the payoff for women is nonetheless real and present. Thus, both education *and* discrimination apparently have important effects on the work women do.

The dual labor market and the human capital perspectives call attention to the extensive job segregation of women and the extent to which discrimination, stereotyping, and traditional roles confine some women to a secondary labor market, some to the less desirable jobs in the primary market, and permit very few to enter the more desirable primary market jobs.

Clearly, the operations of the dual labor market require further exploration. Analyses similar to Andrisani's, using data on female as well as male workers, would be helpful, as would inquiries into the effect of law, political organization, unionization, and changes in aggregate demand on job segregation.

The so-called women's occupations derive not from innate aptitudes but from sterotyped roles and from long traditions of dominance and subservience which a democratic society is necessarily committed to alter.

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[1] See Peter B. Doeringer and Michael J. Piore, *Internal Labor Markets and Manpower Analysis* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Co., 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 193079. See also Garth L. Mangum, "Manpower Research and Manpower Policy," Benjamin Aaron *et al.*, ed., in *A Review of Industrial Relations Research* (Madison, Wis.: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1971), vol. II.

[2] Paul Andrisani, *An Empirical Analysis of the Dual Labor Market Theory* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 225528.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

2. THE MALE-FEMALE EARNINGS GAP

The riddle of the earnings gap has perhaps invited as much speculation as the ancient riddle of the Sphinx. Attempts to unravel its mysteries have provoked volleys of research responses, econometric calculations, and partisan exchanges.

Size of the Gap

Simply stated, the earnings gap amounts to this: Fully employed women earn only about $6 for every $10 earned by fully employed men, and the gap has widened somewhat recently, even in the midst of feminist activity. In 1955, fully employed women earned 64 percent of what men earned, and in 1972 they earned only 58 percent, median earnings in 1972 being $10,202 for men and $5,903 for women. Moreover, in that year, only 11 percent of fully employed women, but 51 percent of men earned $10,000 or over (see table 1).

The gap was present even among men and women with the same amount of education, although a college degree had a high relative payoff for women (see table 2).

Table 1. Earnings of Full-Time, Year-Round Workers,[1] by Sex, 1972

Earnings	Women	Men
Number with earnings (in thousands)	16,675	38,184
Percent	100.0	100.0
Less than $3,000	9.4	4.6
$3,000 to $4,999	26.2	6.6
$5,000 to $6,999	29.2	12.6
$7,000 to $9,999	23.9	24.9
$10,000 to $14,999	9.7	31.2
$15,000 and over	1.7	20.0

[1]Persons 14 years of age and over.
Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau from data published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 90, 1973.

In every major occupational group, the story was about the same: The earnings of fully employed women lagged significantly behind those of men. Women fared best, relative to men, in professional and technical occupations where they earned 67.5 percent of male earnings. They fared worst in sales occupations, where they earned only 40.3 percent of male earnings (see Table 3).

These tables and most other calculations use annual income rather than hourly wage data in computing the gap in male and female earnings. The hourly wage is, for some purposes, a better unit of comparison. Because a significant part of annual income derives from overtime or second job earnings, the annual income figure does not tell precisely how equally the two sexes are being paid. Some of the gap is, indeed, attributable to the longer hours worked by men (and the over-

Table 2. Median Income of Full-Time, Year-Round Workers,[1] by Sex and Years of School Completed, 1972

Years of school completed	Median income: Women	Median income: Men	Women's median income as percent of men's
Elementary school:			
Less than 8 years	$4,221	$7,042	59.9
8 years	4,784	8,636	55.4
High school:			
1 to 3 years	5,253	9,462	55.5
4 years	6,166	11,073	55.7
College:			
1 to 3 years	7,020	12,428	56.5
4 years	8,736	14,879	58.7
5 years or more	11,036	16,877	65.4

[1]Persons 25 years of age and over.
Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau from data published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 90, 1973.

Table 3. Median Wage or Salary Income of Full-Time, Year-Round Workers,[1] by Sex and Nonfarm Occupational Group, 1972

Occupational group	Median wage or salary income: Women	Median wage or salary income: Men	Women's median income as percent of men's
Professional and technical workers	$8,796	$13,029	67.5
Managers and administrators (except farm)	7,306	13,741	53.2
Sales workers	4,575	11,356	40.3
Clerical workers	6,039	9,656	62.5
Craftsmen and kindred workers	5,731	10,429	55.0
Operatives (including transport)	5,021	8,702	57.7
Service workers (except private household)	4,606	7,762	59.3
Private household workers	2,365	[2]	—
Nonfarm laborers	4,755	7,535	63.1

[1]Persons 14 years of age and over.
[2]Fewer than 75,000 men.
Source: Prepared by the Women's Bureau from data published by the U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 90, 1973.

time they earn), rather than to the higher wage paid them. In 1959, for example, 41.8 percent of employed men, but only 18 percent of employed women worked over 40 hours per week.[1] Even among the fully employed, men's overtime earnings were higher. The existing data on the gap, voluminous as they are, do not always provide the time-rate information desired.

Nor is the earnings gap shrinking. By 1974, the median income for women was $6,957, or 57 percent of the $12,152 earned by men.[2] In the quarter century since 1950, however, the number of women in the work force had doubled, while the number of men had increased by only one-fourth. Thus, employment opportunities have improved for women, but their pay has not advanced at as rapid a rate as the pay of men.

Explaining the Gap

Beyond the simple data on inequalities lies a maze of econometric calculations. Many of these calculations reveal conclusively that the earnings gap among fully employed men and women can be attributed largely to the segregation and concentration of women in low-paying, dead-end occupations and industries.

To answer this riddle, however, is to ask another: Why are employed women concentrated in low-paying occupations and industries? To what extent can the segregation be attributed to discrimination, and to what extent can it be attributed to sex-role stereotypes or to the qualities and preferences of women themselves?

These and other questions are not yet answered conclusively, but a number of studies have shed light on both the questions and the answers.

Attempts to Measure Sex Discrimination

Oaxaca, using data from the 1967 Survey of Economic Opportunity, constructed equations which related individual wage rates for men and women to experience, schooling, union membership/class of worker, industry, occupation, health limitations, part-time employment, migration, marital status, size of urban area, and region — and, for women, the number of children in the household.[3] To avoid controlling "for many of the sources of discrimination against women," thereby underestimating its effects, one set of equations did not control for occupation, industry, and union membership/class of worker.[4]

Personal characteristics alone explained less than one-fourth of the earnings gap for whites and less than one-tenth of that for blacks. The employment-related variables explained about one-fifth and two-fifths of the respective earnings gaps. The unexplained difference — over one-half of the total for whites and nearly one-half for blacks even when the employment measures were included — was attributed to sex discrimination.

His study showed that "unions benefit males relative to females chiefly because of the smaller extent of union membership among female workers. What may appear as union exclusion of female membership is actually occupational exclusion. If females can be encouraged and allowed to enter the higher paying unionized occupations, then the problem of the differential impact of unionism should take care of itself."[5]

Of course, some unions contribute to the exclusion of women from higher paying occupations and industries, while other unions actively seek to recruit and organize women workers.

In his sample, 28 percent of white men were members of unions, compared with only 12 percent of white women. Thirty-two percent of black men were union members, compared with only 11 percent of black women. Concluding, Oaxaca said:

> Our study confirms the necessity of antidiscrimination laws; however, it also indicates that mere passage of such legislation is insufficient to eradicate completely sex discrimination within any reasonable time span.
>
> The Federal Equal Pay Act of 1963 is certainly a welcome ally in the fight against discrimination, but its usefulness is limited to reducing only one form of discrimination. Equal pay legislation is not likely to eliminate wage differences completely between men and women in narrowly defined occupations, much less to have any large-scale effect on the overall male-female wage ratio.
>
> Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is supposed to put an end to sex discriminatory hiring practices; however, available statistics show that women are far more likely to complain to the authorities if they are paid less than men performing the same tasks at the same place of work than if they are not hired for a particular job in the first place.[6]

Oaxaca also pointed out that there is less sex discrimination in government service than in private employment, that job opportunities for women are relatively greater in larger urban areas, and that women are less likely than men to migrate for work.

Kohen and Roderick, in examining the National Longitudinal Survey data on early career earnings, found that the usual estimates of the effect of sex discrimination are conservative. Their findings "strongly indicate that sex discrimination is more virulent than racial discrimination. Specifically, more than nine-tenths of the observed female-male wage difference is attributed to sex discrimination, whereas less than one-fourth of the black/white differential is attributed to current racial discrimination in labor markets.

"In addition, we find that sex discrimination is a relatively heavier burden for young black women than for young white women. Further, our calculations imply that racial discrimination in the labor market is quantitatively more onerous for males than for females."[7] Thus, a young black woman's sex is a greater handicap than her race.

"Finally, our results demonstrate that even in the late 1960's youthful black workers of both sexes were discriminated against more in the South than outside the South."

---

[1] Victor R. Fuchs, "Differences in Hourly Earnings Between Men and Women," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1971, pp. 10-14.

[2] *Statistical Portrait of Women in the United States* (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, April 1976). Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 58, p. 47.

[3] Ronald L. Oaxaca, *Male-Female Wage Differentials in Urban Labor Markets* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 199974.

[4] Ronald L. Oaxaca, "Sex Discrimination in Wages," Orley Ashenfelter and Albert Rees, eds., in *Discrimination in Labor Markets* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973), p. 131.

[5] Ibid., p. 150.

[6] Ibid., p. 149.

[7] Andrew I. Kohen and Roger D. Roderick, *The Effects of Race and Sex Discrimination on Early Career Earnings* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1975), p. 32. ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 242772/AS.

In another report of their findings,[8] Kohen and Roderick indicated that both the amount and the quality of schooling directly and significantly affect the hourly earnings of women, for both racial groups. They also reported that young white women in atypical occupations receive higher wages than their counterparts in typical female occupations.

Efforts to explain the earnings gap have computed the "contributions" made by an assortment of characteristics on which males and females differ. Five of the six econometric studies reviewed by Sawhill[9] put the "residual gap" (after male-female differences in age, education, race, residence, experience, unionization, turnover, absenteeism, hours worked, etc., were controlled) at about 33 percent. That is, these differences accounted for only two-thirds of the pay gap.

In the sixth study, where the detailed occupations of men and women were controlled, a residual gap of only 12 percent was found.[10] This suggests that the earnings gap is largely a feature of the low-paying, dead-end jobs in which women work.

The large residual gap, Sawhill said, can presumably be attributed to discrimination, both individual and institutional. Institutional discrimination would include recruitment policies and informal networks of hiring and advancement. More information is needed, she suggested, on discrimination by individuals: who discriminates, which individuals (personnel people, managers, others); and why they discriminate — out of personal preference, assumptions about female turnover rates, or other reasons.

Work experience is commonly seen as a significant variable. Sawhill's study of single women showed negligible returns on experience to women. That is, the length of time women had worked did not help much to close the earnings gap. Experience probably offers some returns to women, she concluded, but considerably less than to males with similar characteristics. Her suggestions for further research included:

1. More information about work experience, since the available data from the National Longitudinal Survey, the Bureau of the Census, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics are insufficient.

2. Information about the contribution to wage differences of sex differences in physical strength and the limited geographic mobility of married women.

3. Analytic tools to monitor pay levels and employment policies at the firm level.

4. More information about discrimination by individuals.

5. Study of the social consequences of the gap. (The Survey Research Center found, for example, that about half of all poor families would have risen from poverty if female heads or working wives in families had been paid wages comparable to those of males.[11])

6. Analysis of possible changes in the gap over time.

A useful contribution by Blau[12] to research on the earnings gap and sex segregation found that earnings differences between the sexes *within occupations* are largely because of pay differences *among* firms rather than *within* firms. That is, a male and female clerk, for example, will earn more nearly the same wage if they work in the same firm than if they work in different firms (even in the same industry).

This finding may seem apparent on its face, but in fact pay differences *among* firms (interfirm) have been largely neglected. The Equal Pay law, for instance, prohibits a firm from paying different wages to males and females who perform the same work, but is not concerned with earnings differences *among* firms.

Moreover, says Blau, the higher the wages paid by a firm, across occupations, the lower the proportion of women employed in the firm is likely to be. Again, this finding is consistent with dual labor market theories. Women tend to be concentrated in lower wage firms (and industries), so their earnings tend to be lower even when they perform the same occupation — clerk, bookkeeper, janitor — as their male counterparts in higher wage firms. "In each occupational category, male workers are primarily sought by and attracted to the higher wage establishments, while female workers are, for the most part, constrained to seek employment in the lower paying firms."[13]

This useful study points out the significance of the firms in which women work, as well as their occupations, in explaining the earnings gap.

The Role of Occupation and Industry

Female Concentration. Fuchs reported that of the 100 occupations employing over 100,000 people, only 46 employ as many as 35,000 of each sex. "When sex differentials across occupations are examined, one of the most striking findings is how few occupations employ large numbers of both sexes. Most men work in occupations that employ very few women, and a significant fraction of women work in occupations that employ very few men."

He was convinced that if occupational classifications were pushed far enough, nearly all of the earnings gap could be explained. "In doing so, however, one merely changes the form of the problem. We would then have to explain why occupational distributions differ so much."[14]

His own explanation was that in my opinion, most of the 40 percentage points(differences in average hourly earnings) can be explained by the different roles assigned to men and women. Role differentiation, which begins in the cradle, affects the choice of occupation, labor force attachment, location of work, post-school investments, hours of work, and other variables that influence earnings. Role differentiation

[8]Andrew I. Kohen and Roger D. Roderick, "Causes of Differentials in Early Labor Market Success Among Young Women," *Proceedings of the Social Statistics Section, American Statistical Association, 1972* (Madison, Wis.: American Statistical Association, 1973).

[9]Isabel V. Sawhill, "The Earnings Gap: Research Needs and Issues." Paper presented at a Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, convened by the U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, June 7, 1974.

[10]Henry Sanford, "Pay Differences Between Men and Women," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, July 1964, pp. 534-550.

[11]*Five Thousand American Families — Patterns of Economic Progress* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, 1974).

[12]Francine D. Blau, *Pay Differentials and Differences in the Distribution of Employment of Male and Female Office Workers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1975). ETA-ORD.

[13]Ibid., p. 167.

[14]Victor R. Fuchs, "Differences in Hourly Earnings Between Men and Women," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1971, pp. 10-14.

can, of course, result from discrimination. We have not found, in this preliminary study, evidence that employer discrimination is a major direct influence upon male-female differentials in average hourly earnings. Discrimination by consumers may be more significant."

Waldman and McEaddy reported that, "in January 1973 most industries paying average weekly earnings of less than $100 were female-intensive."[15] The average pay of all manufacturing workers in January 1973 was $159 a week. The average for those in female-intensive manufacturing industries was much lower. In the apparel industry, for example, in which 81 percent of employees were women, the average was only $93 a week. In the service industries, the most female-intensive of major industry groups, earnings averaged $111 a week. In hospitals they averaged $108, and in hotels and laundries-drycleaners, they averaged $76 and $87, respectively. In retail general merchandise, another female-intensive industry, earnings averaged $82 per week. Part-time work explains part, but by no means all, of the meagerness of these earnings.

In male-intensive industries, such as construction (6 percent female), earnings averaged $223 a week; in transportation and public utilities (21 percent female), earnings averaged $196 a week. Switchboard operators averaged $126 and telephone line construction employees $228. As for manufacturing industries, in transportation equipment (10 percent female), earnings averaged $210 a week; in malt liquor (7 percent female), they averaged $229 a week.

In retail trade, the most female intensive industries were the lowest paid. But employees of motor vehicle dealers (89 percent male) were among the highest paid retail trade workers — $152 a week.

The authors pointed out that women have often been barred systematically from male jobs. Paul Samuelson's basic college text on economics says in this regard, ". . . in a large electrical goods plant, job evaluation experts divide all factory work into two parts: women's jobs and men's jobs. The lowest pay of the men begins about where the women's highest pay leaves off; yet both management and the union will admit, off the record, that in many borderline jobs the productivity of the women is greater than that of the men."[16]

Area wage surveys of six industry divisions show that pay is consistently higher for men than for women in the same occupations.[17]

Opportunity and Segregation in the Service Society. The two master trends of the 20th century labor market have been: (1) The shift of labor out of agriculture and mining; and (2) the shift into the service sector, where two-thirds of the labor force are now employed.

The first shift had obvious consequences for society and women workers: urbanization and industrialization. It permitted women to leave farm and domestic work and find jobs in industry. One study found that the latter shift, the so-called sectoral transformation, "has been crucial for the employment of women, since over 75 percent of all employed women are to be found in services."[18]

Service is too heterogeneous a classification to be meaningful, so the researchers offered this classificatory scheme:

1. Extractive (mining, agriculture)
2. Transformative (manufacturing)

Services

3. Distributive (of goods from extractive and transformative industries)
4. Producer services (as accounting and advertising which cater to goods-oriented producers)
5. Social services (health, education, welfare, etc.)
6. Personal services (consumption oriented, the most heterogeneous category, usually offered by small employers).

The social services, most of them in the public sector, have been among the most rapidly growing of the services. In the century ending in 1970, they grew from 3 percent to 22 percent of the labor force. In 1970, they employed a third of all working women. Among these social services, medical and health services, hospitals and education alone employed more than a fourth of all working women (compared with less than a fifth in 1960). In fact, all social services increased their share of female employment during the sixties (except government, which declined slightly).

Whether the social services will continue to be growth industries is uncertain. In at least one major social service where women are concentrated — education — an extended decline is in process.

Distributive services have generally held their own, while personal services have declined. "One of the distinguishing features of the service society is the lack of servants; it is not so much individuals who serve, but rather firms and organizations."[19] The major shift within the services has been from personal to social and producer services.

The fact that services are much less unionized than in the transformative sector at the present time does not necessarily mean that this relationship will continue to hold. Perhaps 50 years from now there will be little difference between the two in the degree of unionization.[20]

Women were most likely to be full- rather than part-time workers in the transformative (or manufacturing) sector, and least likely to be full-timers in the personal and social services. Women were somewhat less likely than men to change from one sector to another. Of those who changed, the largest number went into social services — while men were more likely to shift to manufacturing.

Most interestingly, in view of the entrenched views held by employers about female worker transiency, these researchers found that, "*When occupational status is controlled for, those industries with a high proportion of female employment have lower quit rates than industries in which there are only a few women employed.*"

In almost every industry, women were more likely than men to have at least 12 years of schooling. To some extent, their superior educational attainment balances the fact that they spend less time working than men and therefore receive less

[15]Elizabeth Waldman and Beverly J. McEaddy, "Where Women Work — An Analysis by Industry and Occupation," *Monthly Labor Review*, May 1974, p. 10.

[16]Paul R. Samuelson, *Economics* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1967), p. 120.

[17]*Area Wage Surveys: Metropolitan Areas, U.S. and Regional Summaries, 1969-70* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1971). Bull. 1660-92.

[18]Harley L. Browning and Joachim Singelmann, *The Emergence of a Service Society: Demographic and Sociological Aspects of the Sectoral Transformation of the Labor Force in the U.S.A., 1940-1970* (Austin, Tex.: The University of Texas, 1975), p. 248. ETA-ORD.

[19]Ibid., p. 237.

[20]Ibid., p. 238.

on-the-job training. In 1970, 66 percent of employed women and 59.2 percent of employed males had at least 12 years of schooling.

The researchers concluded that the decline of agricultural and domestic work and the growth of service industries had significantly improved the status of women, enabling many of them to find jobs, but that new government policies would be needed to make comparable improvements in the future.

Differences in the occupations of women and men, they found, are also substantial and, despite the impact of law and liberation, the differences persist. In 1970 about a third of all women workers were in clerical jobs. While men were concentrated in craft and higher level managerial jobs, women were concentrated in both clerical and service occupations. Women had not gained much in the male professions either; law, engineering, architecture, and medicine were still more than 90 percent male, although professional school enrollments among women have risen.

Women in Atypical Occupations. Examining National Longitudinal Survey data, Shortlidge and Jusenius[21] found that, in the 5-year period ending in 1971, white women tended to move *out* of traditionally female occupations, but black women tended to move *into* them especially into clerical jobs. The occupations of white women became *less* traditional and the occupations of black women *more* traditional.

Black women who moved into typical jobs experienced a relative earnings decline (from 89 percent of the income of white women to 81 percent). Black women who moved into atypical jobs, and away from women's work, experienced a relative rise in earnings (from 75 percent of white women's earnings to 90 percent). The earnings of white women who moved into atypical jobs also rose relative to others.

Both black and white women who were in atypical jobs in 1971 had higher hourly pay rates than women in typical female jobs. "Thus, the elimination of barriers to the movement of women from traditionally female occupations appears to have had beneficial economic consequences for those who made such changes."[22]

The experience of women with and without high school diplomas differed, however. Among women with high school diplomas, the greatest rise in earnings occurred among those who worked at atypical jobs in both years. Such was not the case for women without diplomas. The greatest rise in earnings for these women occurred among those who were in traditionally female jobs in both years.

Nor did movement into atypical jobs automatically bring more job satisfaction. White women *with* a high school diploma who moved into atypical jobs tended to be more satisfied with their work. White women *without* a diploma tended to be less satisfied when they moved into atypical jobs.

The explanation for this perhaps lies in the fact that not all atypical jobs, that is, traditionally male jobs, are attractive. Many are, especially those requiring skill and training, but many are not, especially those that need unskilled, dirty, hard manual labor. The more educated a woman is the more likely she is to qualify for the desirable male jobs. Indeed, typical male jobs have been said to follow a bell-shaped curve, with males preempting most of the best and the worst jobs in the labor market.

Differences in Work Experience

Using Social Security and census data, Gastwirth confirmed and enlarged other findings about the role of occupation and industry in the earnings gap.[23] He found that male-female pay inequalities varied over the different industries, and that more recent female entrants to the labor force earned more nearly as much as males than did women more experienced in the labor force.

He concluded that women do not receive the same economic return for continuous work as men do. Indeed, they tend to fall further behind as time passes. The relative status of the sexes is nearer to equality in occupations where men are employed in substantial numbers. Inequality tended to be greatest in occupations dominated numerically by women. To get a complete picture, he said, one should study employment data (new hire policies, etc.) as well as earnings data.

Clearly, the work experience of women and men is very different. Their job assignments, and their earnings, follow markedly divergent paths through the life cycle. The earnings of men start out at roughly the same point as those of women, but they rise sharply until the preretirement years, while the earnings of both ever-married and never-married women rise very little. Chart 1 shows that this pattern applies even to men and women who are equivalent in education, race, region, weeks worked per year, and hours worked per week.

In one discussion of work experience and the "depreciation of human capital" in explaining the earnings gap, Mincer and Polachek, after examining National Longitudinal Survey data, asserted the following:

1. The periods of time women spend at home rather than in the work force — particularly when associated with marriage or the birth of the first child — result in a net depreciation of their human capital and their earning power. The earnings depreciation for married women amounts to, on an average, 1.5 percent per year.[24]

2. After leaving school, men are likely to acquire more work experience than women. These differences in work experience account for at least 45 percent, and perhaps as much as 70 percent, of the gap in hourly earnings between the two groups.

In a reanalysis of the NLS data, Sandel and Shapiro asserted that Mincer and Polachek's findings suffer from serious errors stemming from the "econometric specification," the uses of several key variables, the treatment of the "simultaneity problem," and the use of NLS data in which there was a coding error.[25]

They concluded that "the effect of 'depreciation' of human capital on women's earnings is less than one-half of 1 percent

[21]Carol L. Jusenius and Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., *Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1975). Manpower Research Monograph No. 21, vol. 3.

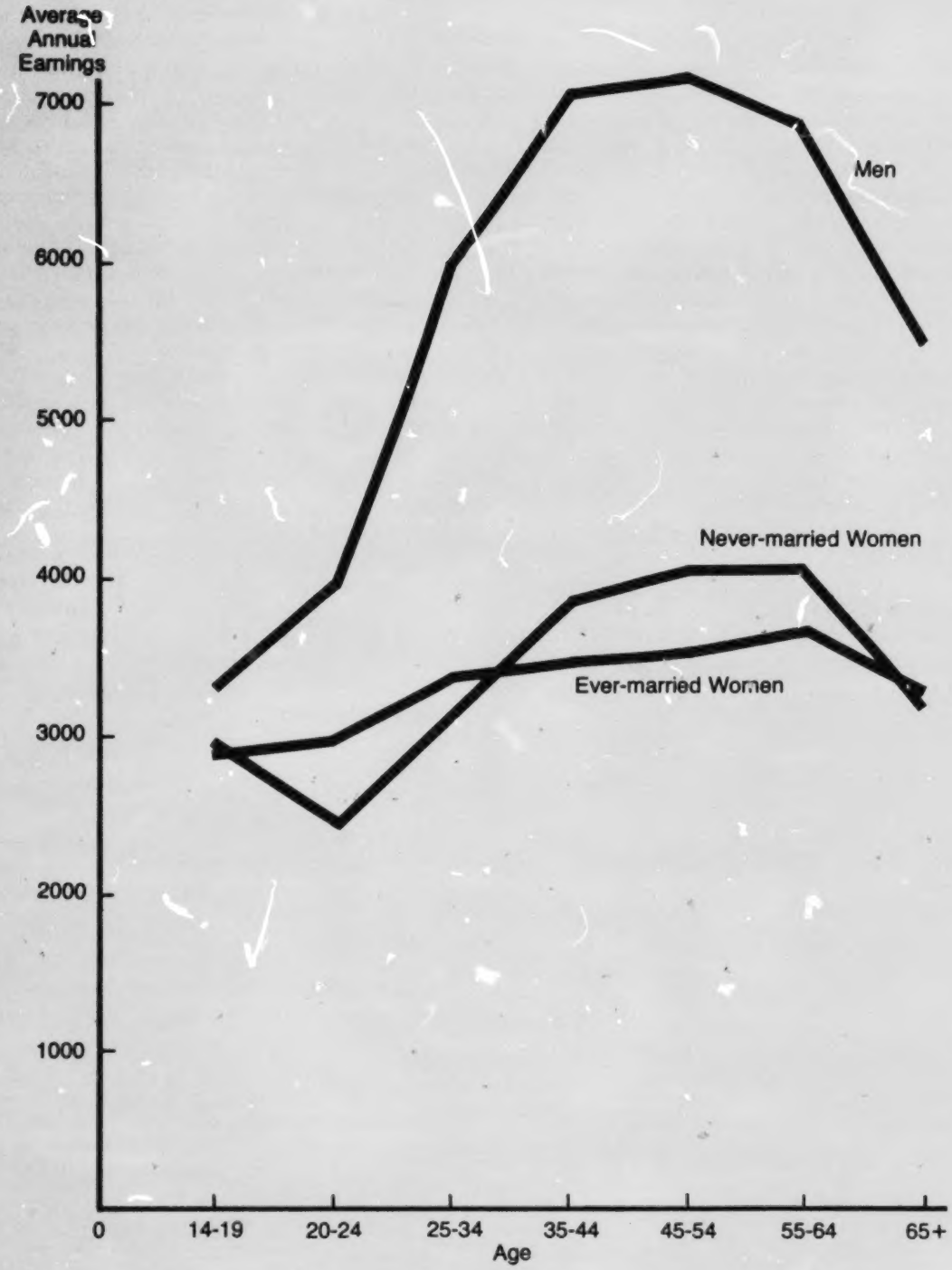
[22]Ibid., p. 91.

[23]Joseph L. Gastwirth, "Statistical Measures of Earnings Differentials," *The American Statistician*, February 1975, pp. 32-35.

[24]Jacob Mincer and Solomon Polachek, "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women," *Journal of Political Economy*, March/April 1974, pp. S76-S108.

[25]Steven H. Sandell and David Shapiro, *The Theory of Human Capital and the Earnings of Women: A Reexamination of the Evidence* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1975). ETA-ORD.

Chart 1. **Typical Earnings Profiles by Age, Sex, and Marital Status, 1960**



Source: Isabel V. Sawhill, "The Economics of Discrimination Against Women: Some New Findings," Journal of Human Resources, Summer 1973, pp. 383-396. Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports for 1966, and have been adjusted for differences in education, race, region, weeks worked per year, and hours worked per week.

per year out of the labor force — or less than one-half of the magnitude originally reported by Mincer and Polachek. . . . In addition the contribution of differences in work experience between men and women in explaining wage differences by sex is substantially less than indicated by Mincer and Polachek. . ."[26]

What is at stake in this often tormented econometric debate is basically this: Do women bring on their own earnings and job plight, in effect, by quitting their jobs for home duties, and missing thereby important years of job experience and training? Or is their plight attributable more to various forms of stereotyping and institutional discrimination?

Although women who never marry tend generally to increase their earnings more than ever-married women, this is apparently attributable far more to the education, rather than the experience, they acquire. Among women with comparable characteristics (education, race, residence, worktime) those who *never* marry show roughly the same flat lifetime earnings profile as those who *do* marry (see chart 1), while men of similar characteristics experience a steeply rising income curve in mid-career. This suggests that the earnings gap and female dead-end jobs must be explained mainly, but not wholly, by factors other than lost work experience.

Experience is more important to some jobs than to others. It is also more important to jobs that require skill and experience than to those routine blue- and white-collar jobs that require little or none. At the same time, turnover and quit rates are much lower, and career commitments much higher among women in jobs that require skill and experience.

On-The-Job Training Investments

Can the earnings gap and the job assignments of women be attributed to high job turnover rates and the fact that employers, expecting women to quit, are reluctant to invest money in their training?

This argument is made, but its validity depends on proof that the job turnover rates of women are significantly higher than those of men. As will be seen in chapter 5, the evidence indicates that the common assumptions about female turnover rates are *not* valid.

Thurow, however, pointed to the neglected significance of on-the-job training in explaining income differences between the sexes.[27] The amount of such training, he said, is basic to understanding the earnings gap. Women are much less likely to receive such training than men, mainly, he assumed, because employers, expecting women to quit, hesitate to invest in their training.

"Skill surveys find that most job skills are acquired in an informal on-the-job training process," he continued, citing a 1963 inventory of the training of adult workers.[28] That survey showed that nearly three-fifths of the workers with less than 3 years of college had acquired some of their job skills through informal, casual on-the-job training. Even more of the college-trained group who were not working in their college field reported that they had acquired cognitive job skills through informal on-the-job training. When asked to list the form of training that had been most helpful in acquiring their current job skills, only 12 percent of the workers with less than 3 years' college listed *formal* training and specialized education, compared with 37 percent who said informal, on-the-job learning had been most helpful.

The learning curves of men on the job rise more steeply than those of women. The explanation for this is said to lie in two types of learning which men are more likely to acquire on the job: Specific job skills; team-work skills. Productivity, said Thurow, "is not solely an individual phenomenon. Team work is involved. Workers must learn to work with each other as well as learning their own production skills." Further, he claimed, "workers hired from the external labor market are inferior to those that have been working for some period of time even if they have identical formal skills."[29] They are inferior, he said, because they lack team-work skills.

No evidence was offered by Thurow, however, to indicate the value, if any, of team work. Such team work could be useful in establishing informal social contacts that permit workers to become "one of the boys," and in acquiring job information through these contacts. Women are often excluded from these networks.

The key determinant of the learning curve, in his view, "is the mean duration of employment in the labor force. The longer the average worker has been on the job the more opportunities he has had to acquire the necessary skills and interact with his fellow workers."[30] Thus, he concluded, the learning curve of women suffers from the lesser duration of their employment, and from the fact that employers, predicting that they will quit, invest less in their on-the-job training. Certainly, fewer of the women than of the men had participated in formal training sponsored by their employers: 7 percent compared with 35 percent. Job training by the Armed Forces and in apprenticeship accounted for over nine-tenths of the difference.

He pointed out that while social policy in the last decade has tried to equalize human capital investments, mainly through education, little attention has been paid to on-the-job training (OJT) investments. Efforts should be made, he said, to measure the costs, benefits and distribution of OJT, much as Project Talent and the National Longitudinal Survey studied the impact of education on income.

Essential knowledge for such a study is held by employers. "If you argue that industrial firms have a right to keep the process secret whereby they distribute working skills, then you have to accept the fact that there probably is no way to alter the distribution of earnings. You cannot understand it enough to alter it."[31]

In Thurow's view, employers discriminate against women in hiring and training because "it is efficient" to do so, because it cuts training costs, and because employers judge women

[26] Ibid., p. 18.

[27] Lester C. Thurow, *Job Competition Model for Distributing Earnings* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 255348.

[28] *Formal Occupational Training of Adult Workers* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1964). Manpower Automation Research Monograph No. 2.

[29] Thurow, op. cit., p. 66.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid., p. 3.

based on the "objective characteristics" of their group. He argued, however, that law and affirmative action should intervene, in behalf of women and the whole society, to equalize on-the-job training of the sexes.

Certainly it is an important contribution to point out the neglected significance of informal as well as formal on-the-job training, and the maldistribution of such training to the sexes. Just as certainly, the issue deserves far more consideration and study than it has been given. What is less certain, or demonstrable, is that employers make efficient decisions when they discriminate against women in training investments (that they save money by such decisions) or that they accurately judge the "objective characteristics" of the group, namely the higher turnover rates of women. Again, all available evidence suggests that the turnover rates of women in most occupations are not significantly different from the turnover rates of males. That being the case, what is left are stereotypes, discrimination, and in some cases, perhaps a time lag. Many employers belong to a generation and class in which women *did* withdraw from the labor force for lengthy periods following marriage and childbirth, and some probably assume this is still generally true.

Two Types of Discrimination

Disparities in the labor market experience of the sexes, according to Barrett[32] have not changed much since the passage of antidiscrimination legislation. In fact, she pointed out, the relative position of women apparently has deteriorated in the last 25 years.

Several conclusions, she said, flow from Gary Becker's theories about employers' "taste for discrimination."[33] Employers would presumably hire women for jobs if they were willing to work for lower wages. The equilibrium wage would be lower by an amount that reflects the "disutility" that women bring to the job. "Presumably a woman could be president of General Motors or of the United States for that matter if only she would work for a lower salary than the current incumbents." The idea, said Barrett, "that qualified women would have access to any job at a reduced wage is ridiculously at odds with reality."[34]

"A second explanation (also associated with Becker, but more generally with the neoclassical theories of household choice — the new home economics) is that women do not choose high-paying jobs. This is usually explained by a preference for a dual career in which women supplement their (major) household responsibilities" with jobs of little responsibility and flexible schedules that do not interfere with household demands. Or, "women may choose more passive and nurturant jobs, such as secretary, nurse, schoolteacher, or domestic worker, because they are culturally conditioned by the feminine mystique to believe that any other choice would threaten their femininity."

A more sophisticated version of the argument is that women do not choose to invest in the human capital necessary to attain high-status jobs. Women are paid less than men because their earnings do not rise with age. And, according to the human capital theory, a rising age-earnings profile is indicative of human capital investments that pay off in the form of higher earnings in later years.[35]

If the last argument were true, she indicated, it would be difficult to explain the clamor of women for more education, training, and better jobs.

This is not to suggest that the cult of femininity does not play a role in determining occupational choices and/or job assignments of young women. However, the social conditioning argument really begs the question of the underlying economic basis for maintaining discriminatory attitudes and prejudices.[36]

Barrett described two types of discrimination. Type I is found in labor markets where desirable jobs are scarce. In such markets, the favored subgroup tries to limit the supply of labor and exclude others from access to those jobs. It doesn't really matter *who* is excluded.

Type II discrimination is directed specifically at women and is associated with their childbearing function. Her views in this respect are consistent with those just explored. The earnings gap, she found, is primarily because of differences in life-cycle earnings. Females earn about 85 percent of male earnings when they are young, but only about 50 percent in the middle years.

The main explanation for "rising age-earnings profiles is the acquisition of human capital in the early years of labor force activity that produces rising productivity over the life cycle," either in the form of training or certain kinds of job experience. "Jobs requiring human capital investments have career ladders through which the employee progresses through life. Presumably these are the more desirable jobs from which women are excluded."[37]

The life cycle of women's earnings — even those who do not marry — suggests that women are generally assigned to dead-end jobs and barred from the career ladders that offer skill learning and experience, and higher earnings. The exclusion occurs even among women who do not drop out of the labor force to have children.

Type II discrimination is the easiest to justify since it is based upon real (or generally perceived) differences in labor market performance that affect the productivity of the worker, particularly workers in career-ladder jobs. [If jobs require employer investment in job training in the early years,] then there will be a reduction in the payoff to the employer if the woman drops out to have children.[38]

Type II discrimination can be dealt with in two ways: (1) Men and women can share child rearing responsibilities, or child care facilities can be provided in order to reduce female job quit rates. (2) "Employers could be subsidized as compensation for bearing the risk of human capital investments in women who are potential labor force dropouts or who enter the labor force later in life and have a shorter earnings horizon."[39]

Here, Barrett apparently accepted the common but questionable assumptions about female turnover and quit rates

[32]Nancy S. Barrett, *The Theory of Discrimination Revisited* (Washington: The American University, 1975).

[33]Gary S. Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957).

[34]Barrett, op. cit., p. 3.

[35]Ibid.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid., p. 7.

[38]Ibid., p. 16.

[39]Ibid.

and the so-called inefficiency of investing in job training for women.

Type I discrimination she apparently regarded as less legitimate than Type II, and perhaps more difficult to eliminate. "Type I discrimination is currently justified by the rationalization that it is really Type II." Women are excluded, or "protected" from entering certain jobs by appeals to the feminine mystique.

The most desirable jobs are usually labeled as not feminine, and women who aspire to them are subjected to various psychological pressures as their sexuality is called into question. Furthermore, various ruses are designed to prevent women from taking these jobs. Something heavy must be lifted (usually by pushing a button), the job requires travel to dangerous places or places without private sleeping accommodations for women, the clients or other employees are said to prefer working with men, etc. And underlying all this is simply the belief that women do not need the best jobs since they are (or should be) secondary wage earners.[40]

Discrimination Within Three Firms

A refreshing note is introduced in an unusual and valuable study by Cassell and Doctors,[41] who examined the wage rates and job grades over time of 2,300 employees in three urban, midwestern, manufacturing firms — communications, electrical, and drug. The study is refreshing because it is specific and documented, rather than purely speculative; it takes the reader inside these firms and shows what their actual, rather than assumed, practices are.

In these case studies, Cassell and Doctors were able both to examine personnel records and to interview selected managers and employees of the firms.

It was found that females earned less than males of the same race, age, experience, and education in all six work subgroups of these firms (including blue- and white-collar work groups). The earnings differential ranged from 21 cents an hour in the drug company white-collar group to 73 cents an hour in the communications company blue-collar group.

In the two firms for which such data were available, it was found that firms discriminated against women in assigning job grade *at the time of hire*, and that this assignment was likely to affect both grade and wage progression as long as the woman remained with the firm.

The study confirmed and extended the findings of Malkiel and Malkiel that women with the same characteristics as males (including work experience) failed to get the same pay because they were assigned to different labor grades and job titles.[42]

While the major discrimination occurred at the time of hire, Cassell and Doctors found that firms were also less likely to upgrade women. One company, for example, assumed that many female blue-collar workers did not want grade promotions. One manager said, "Such promotions would often mean more responsibility and having to leave one's friends in the present work group." This firm, instead of upgrading women, offered them unspecified amounts of longevity increases. "The extent to which these differences in the male-female progression rates are attributable to male-female motivational differences, rather than managerial prejudices, cannot be determined from our data."[43]

Another firm would usually raise the salary of a good female secretary rather than promote her to a nonclerical position. A good male clerical employee would be more likely to get the promotion.

Women are often unaware of grade promotion opportunities and policies. One grade 11 line worker (white, female), employed at the company for over 20 years, had never changed her job. When questioned, she said she thought her opportunity for advancement was good.

Employees in all three companies, however, generally felt that promotion opportunities were limited. Managers said they could do little to improve opportunities for workers. The problem, they thought, was not the cost to the firm, but work apathy, union restrictions, and the demands of the production process. Yet at the managerial, professional, and technical levels in these firms, carefully designed career ladders had been in effect for many years.

Workers were poorly informed about the upgrading chances that did exist. In one company, job openings were posted for only 2 days. Workers were generally unaware of the openings, the procedures for applying, and the existence of a bid system. Under such conditions, favorites are more easily selected for openings and women more easily discriminated against.

Location of Job

Another source of job segregation, and earnings differences, is the fact that women are more likely than men to find employment near their homes. And, interestingly enough, Fuchs found that people who work at home or who walk to work earn about 26 percent less than do people who travel to their jobs, other things being equal.[44] About 18 percent of employed women and only about 9 percent of employed men were found to have a short trip to work. At the same time, 17 percent of females and 26 percent of males had a long trip. Perhaps because women have more responsibilities at home, they are more likely to seek work near home, and consequently earn less because jobs in residential neighborhoods generally pay less than comparable jobs elsewhere.

Adding Up the Evidence

In reviewing the literature on sex differentiation in the labor market, Kohen observed:

. . . it is easier to summarize the many studies that have been conducted than to synthesize their findings and to make confident generalizations about the nature, extent and sources of sex differentiation in the labor market. The many differences in data sources, in models, and in methods of analysis make comparisons difficult.[45]

[40]Ibid., p. 17.

[41]Frank H. Cassell and Samuel I. Doctors, *A Three Company Study of the Intrafirm Mobility of Blue-Collar and Lower Level White-Collar Workers* (Chicago: Northwestern University, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 226184.

[42]Burton G. Malkiel and Judith A. Malkiel, "Male-Female Pay Differentials in Professional Employment," *American Economic Review*, September, 1973.

[43]Cassell and Doctors, op. cit., p. 343.

[44]Victor R. Fuchs, op. cit., p. 10.

[45]Andrew I. Kohen with Susan C. Brelnich and Patricia Shields, *Women and the Economy: A Bibliography and A Review of the Literature on Sex Discrimination in the Labor Market* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1975), p. 82. ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 241193AS.

Perhaps the sole consistent result of the melange of empirical studies surveyed is that sex discrimination in the form of unequal pay for equal work is of little, if any, quantitative significance. While there also seems to be consensus that occupational differentiation is an important source of the observed male-female earnings disparity, it is by no means clear to what extent the differentiation is produced by labor market discrimination (e.g., in promotions) or by sex role discrimination in the home and schools. In addition, research on sex segregation by establishment is in its infancy and there are few studies relating to the Ralph Bunche syndrome — hiring women with higher qualifications than men to do the same job at the same pay.[46]

Economists, he concluded, "are not able to specify the mechanisms by which the attitudes underlying the behavior are manifested." Researchers should be mindful of the various forms of discrimination: unequal pay for equal work, artificial barriers to favored occupations, or the acquisition of vocational training, unequal layoff policies, etc. "For research to serve as a basis for policymaking and government intervention in the labor market, it must attempt to disentangle the determinants of male/female earnings differences and separate those commonly grouped together under the heading of discrimination."[47]

[46]Ibid., p. 83.

[47]Ibid.

[48]Trevor Bain, *Labor-Market Analysis: A Review and Analysis of Manpower Research and Development* (New York: Center for Policy Research, Inc., 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS. PB 256855.

The review by Bain[48] of labor markets, while it contains virtually no specific references to women, can provide some useful guides to future inquiries about women's work. He reviewed 174 reports on the labor market, the research for which was sponsored by the Office of Research and Development of the Employment and Training Administration. All of the categories in which he classified these studies suggest avenues of research on women that have not yet been explored, including:

The search for work: Job search techniques used by or most useful to women.

Labor market information: The uses and availability of job information to women through want ads, unions, educational institutions, occupational guidance, private employment agencies, and the Employment Service.

Selection and entry: The meaning for and uses by women jobseekers of formal methods of selection and entry (licensing, apprenticeship, employment agencies, placement services, and the Employment Service), informal methods, screening, etc.

Internal labor markets: Promotion and upgrading of women, forms of sex discrimination, job redesign to make jobs more available to women and to establish career lines.

3. LABOR MARKET EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN

By any standard, the most useful labor market studies for students of women's employment problems are those in the National Longitudinal Survey, which followed the labor market experience of two groups of women for 5 years. The studies, conducted for ORD by The Ohio State University Research Foundation, first surveyed women aged 30 to 44 in 1967, and a younger cohort, aged 14 to 24, in 1968. They also afford some comparisons with two age groups of men. In effect, the studies permit the reader to understand how the impersonal economic and sociological forces described in the preceding chapter interact with women's personal characteristics and opinions to produce either a satisfactory or an unsatisfactory work experience. These studies, supplemented at some points, are the subject of this chapter.

Changes in Women's Status, 1967-72

The National Longitudinal Survey of mature working women (age 35 to 49 in 1972) found that, over the 5 years, 1967-72, the labor force participation of these women increased, they became freer of child care responsibilities, their attitudes toward working mothers became more favorable, and full-time employment became more common.[1] Most of those who worked throughout the period felt they had progressed, and in real earnings, most of them had.

Considerable stability in work status was found during this period and over their working lives. Married women were found to have less education than single women, and they were also less likely than single women to move up the occupational ladder after their first job. Migration to another area increased the earnings of single women, but decreased the earnings of married women relative to nonmigrant married women, presumably because they migrated not for better jobs but to follow the migration of their husbands.

The more education these women had, the more they earned, the higher was the socioeconomic status of their first jobs, the greater their upward mobility on the job, and the more likely they were to pursue careers.

Work experience and on-the-job training were found to be important for some women, in increasing their earnings, but not for others. For women in unskilled jobs, only recent work experience influenced their earnings. Women in skilled and semiskilled jobs profited more from work experience.

Attitudes were also found to bear an important relationship to work participation. If a woman had liberated views about working mothers, she was more likely to pursue a career herself. She was also more likely to have her children cared for by people other than relatives while she worked.

A woman's preception of her husband's attitudes about women working also had a significant influence on her work participation. She was less likely to work if he disapproved (see chart 2).

Black women, in virtually all respects, were found to do less well in the labor market than white women of equivalent education, experience, etc. The major exception was that the earnings of black women increased more than the earnings of white women. The real earnings of white women (adjusted for inflation) increased by 9 percent over the 5 years; for black women the increase was 26 percent. In 1972 the average hourly wage of white women was just under $3.00; for black women it was just under $2.75.

The work behavior of women was also influenced by the fact that the proportion of white married women living with their husbands declined from 87 to 84 percent over the period, and of black women from 66 to 60 percent. Of far greater importance in influencing their work behavior, however, was the fact that their children were growing up and needed less attention. Health also influenced their work. A fourth of white and a third of black women reported health problems that affected the work they did.

The Career Woman

To be classified as a career woman, a strong attachment to work, in a single or related occupation, had to be present.[2] By 1972, only 10 percent of the mature white women and 14 percent of the black women had established careers.

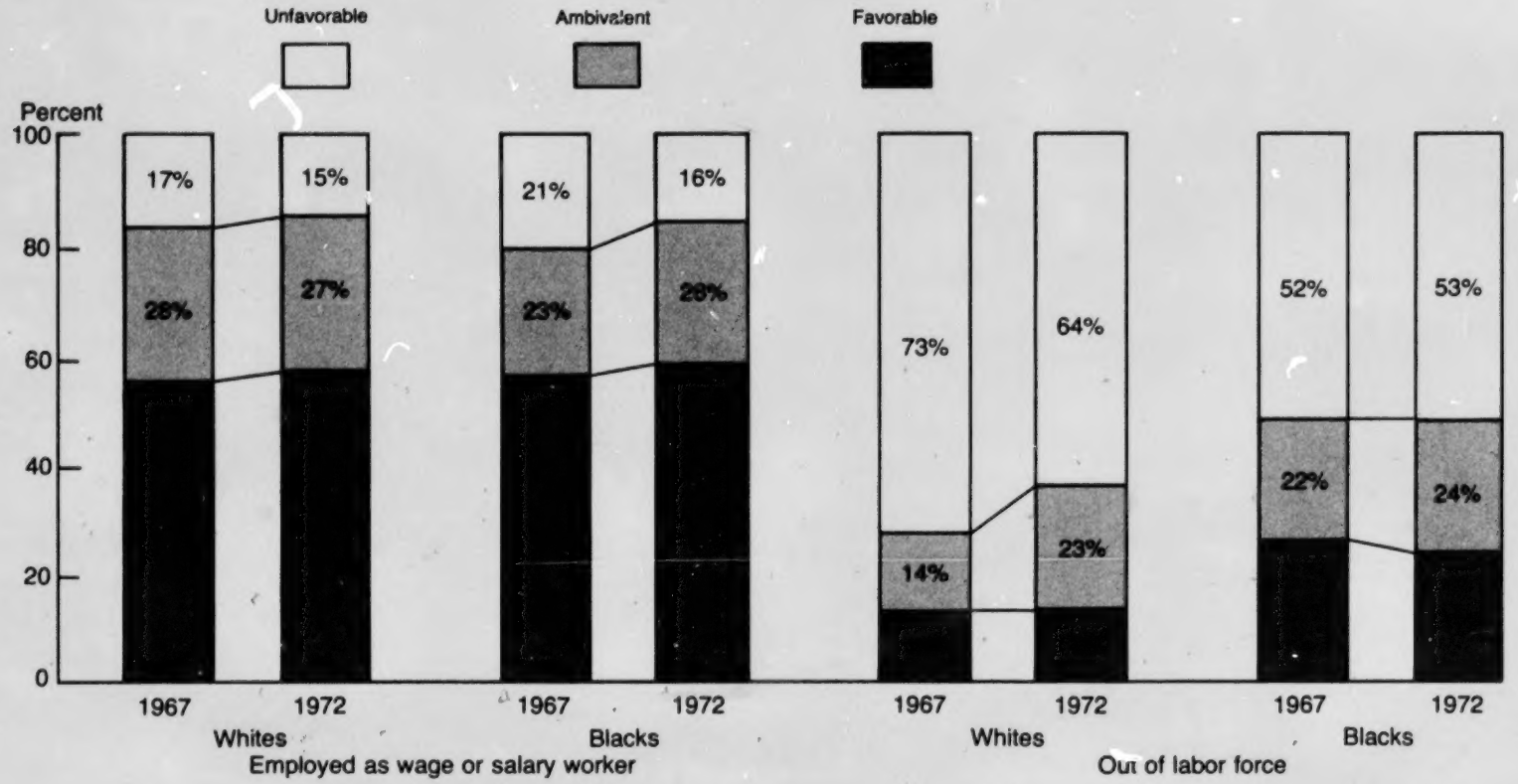
Among women of both races who had ever married and bore (or adopted) children, only 7 percent qualified as career women. In contrast, about half of all childless never-married have had careers, and about a third of ever-married women without children.

Among married women living with their husbands, a number of marital and family characteristics are significantly related to the likelihood of having pursued a career. For example, other things equal, women whose husbands have had health problems are more likely than other women to have established careers. The number and spacing of children have important effects on the likelihood of careers. In multiple-child families, the longer the average number of years between births, the greater the likelihood of career status, perhaps reflecting the greater possibility of using older siblings to provide child care. Finally, attitudinal factors apparently exert an influence. There is a very substantial relation between a woman's perception of her husband's

[1] *Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor). Manpower Research Monograph No. 21, vol. 1 (1971), vol. 2 (1973), vol. 3 (1975), vol. 4 (1976).

[2] "To qualify as having a 'career,' a woman first must have worked for 6 months or more in at least three-fourths of the years that elapsed between leaving school and 1967, and must also have been employed in at least three-fourths of the weeks between the 1967 and 1972 interviews. Second, a 'career' woman must have been in the same three-digit occupational category or in related categories during all jobs for which information was collected in the several surveys" (ibid., vol. 4, p. 59).

Chart 2. **Husband's Attitude toward Wife's Working, by Wife's Race and Labor Force Status, 1967 and 1972**



Source: Dual Careers, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 15.

attitude toward her working and the likelihood that she will have established a career. Moreover, her own attitude toward the propriety of labor market activity by married women with children has a significant relationship with whether she has pursued a career.

Irrespective of the characteristics of her husband and family, the more education a woman has had the more likely she is to have pursued a career. Moreover, type of education also plays a role; women who have pursued professional programs at the university level are more likely than other university graduates to have had careers. Participation in lengthy training programs outside of regular school also increases the likelihood of a career, as does possession of a certificate or license for the practice of a trade or profession.

Finally, two factors relating to the woman's early home environment are related to the likelihood that she will subsequently establish a career. Women from rural areas and small cities are more likely than those from large cities to have established careers. Whether her mother worked when the respondent was a teenager is also influential; women who had working mothers are more likely than others to have established careers for themselves.[3]

Occupational Status and Mobility

Does marital status influence occupational status?

Marital status . . . is not only strongly related to the likelihood of a woman's establishing a career, but also has a bearing on her occupational status that is independent of the amount of time she has spent in the labor force. To begin with, women who marry and have children have obtained less education than never-married women with similar backgrounds. Controlling for other characteristics, their initial jobs have status levels no different from those held by never-married women, but they are less likely than the never-married to move up the occupational ladder over time. These findings do not necessarily mean that marriage impedes upward mobility for women with given degrees of attachment to the labor force; the evidence is equally consistent with the hypothesis that a selective process operates such that women with strong career orientations are less likely to marry than those who wish to emphasize other roles.

One aspect of the evidence on occupational status is disheartening. Controlling for all other factors that we have been able to measure, the occupations taken at the beginning of their careers by blacks now in their thirties and forties were lower in the status hierarchy than those taken by whites with comparable characteristics. Moreover, the relative disparity in this respect widened over their careers — even during the half decade between 1967 and 1972. This is an additional reminder that the rather impressive effort in recent years in combatting racial discrimination in the labor market still leaves something to be desired.[4]

The fact that married women are not free to migrate independently of their families reduces their wage bargaining power with employers. If their wages are low, they are not free to pick up and move to a different community in pursuit of higher wages. The decision to migrate is usually based on the family's desire to increase the male head's earnings.

Moreover, employers can more easily hold males who wish to migrate by paying them higher wages. They cannot do it easily with females, because the family's decision to migrate is seldom based on the woman's earnings. If employers feel they cannot control the migration of women, they may be less likely to invest in their on-the-job training.

[3]Ibid., pp. 82-83.

[4]Ibid., p. 85.

Black-White Differences

Black and white women differed in almost all aspects of work behavior. Black women had both higher employment and higher unemployment rates than white women. They started their careers in lower status jobs. With the exception of such jobs as teaching, they remained concentrated in less desirable jobs.

As for nonjob differences, nearly one-third of ever-married black women had their first child before age 18, and one-fourth had six children or more. The comparable figure for white women was 1 out of 11 in each instance.

While 86 percent of white women were married and living with their husbands at the time of the survey, the same was true of only 67 percent of black women.

Black women expressed more favorable attitudes to working mothers. If they were to lose their jobs, they would be more inclined to look for others. Black women were more likely to value good wages above the intrinsic qualities of the job. They were less likely to be satisfied with their current jobs, and more likely to want another job at higher pay.

The reports on the survey do not indicate to what extent these differences in job status are attributable to differences in such characteristics as educational attainment, or marital and family status.

Young Women and Work Expectations

Young women seriously *underestimate* their future labor force participation, judging by the actual work experiences of mature women. The gap between these estimates and the actuality may even grow in the future as more women are drawn into the labor force.

Comparison of data for the mature women with the NLS data for young women (aged 14 to 24 in 1968)[5] shows that black women underestimate their future participation less than white women do. Young black women predicted a participation rate of 51 percent, compared with an actual rate of 67 percent among older black women. White women predicted a rate of 29 percent, compared with an actual rate (at age 35) of 48 percent.

To the extent that this underestimate of future labor force participation is concomitant with little interest in formal and on-the-job training, some women will be faced with poor occupational opportunities when and if they do decide to enter the labor market. Unrealistic low expectations of future labor market participation can create a self-fulfilling prophecy if these women, with little training, are offered low wages and, hence, choose not to accept employment. An important area of research emerges from the results persented here. How do young women form their labor market behavioral expectations? How and when do their expectations change? These questions and related ones should be answered so that self-imposed barriers to the employment of women can be eliminated.[6]

[5]*Years for Decision: A Longitudinal Study of the Educational and Labor Market Experience of Young Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor). Manpower Research Monograph No. 24, vol. 1 (1971), vol. 2 (1974), vol. 3 (1975).

[6]Carol L. Jusenius and Steven H. Sandell, "Barriers to Entry and Reentry to the Labor Market." Paper presented at Conference on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, convened by the U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, June 7, 1974, p. 46.

Fertility

Labor force experience of women is obviously related to fertility.[7] Since women have been better able to control fertility, they have been better able to participate in the work force. Moreover, labor force dropouts among women are usually caused by pregnancy and child rearing obligations.

While much attention has been given to the *numbers* of births, rather little has been given to their spacing. More highly educated women, it has been found, tend to space their children closer together than less educated women.[8] Higher income is also related to closer spacing. In general, women with extensive work histories tend to have as many children as those with limited work histories.[9] Indeed, the trend is toward a common number of births among women, with the important difference being in the *timing* of births.

Women who have given birth to at least one child both expect and want fewer children than those who have no children.[10] Women who are unfavorable to working mothers both want and expect more children than those who have favorable attitudes. The more education a woman has, the fewer children she expects. White and black women expect the same number of children, but black women want more children than whites do.

"Policy designed to reduce the rate of population growth must change from a strategy of assisting families to have the number of children they want to have, to one that actually reduces family size expectations and ideals."[11]

Barriers to Entry and Reentry

Most women do not work, though many would if the necessary supports and opportunities existed. More information exists on the *supply* side barriers to the employment of women than on the *demand* side barriers.[12]

On the supply side, the presence of young children and the number of children in their families keep women from entering the work force. Low levels of education, husbands' attitudes, and the belief on women's part that their place is in the home are also supply side barriers.

On the demand side, not enough is known about prospects in traditionally female jobs, or the possibilities of entry into traditionally male jobs. Some traditionally female jobs are contracting and declining numerically, as teaching. Among barriers to entry into male jobs are exclusion by the male in-group, the "old boy" networks, the male-oriented protege system.

On the supply side, more information such as the following is also needed: (1) Child-care — the extent to which child care, in fact, restrains women from working. (Many women say they would work if suitable child care arrangements were available, but it is not known whether they would, in fact, do so.) (2) Skill obsolescence — concerning the reentry of mature women to the work force, to what extent is the problem that their skills are rusty, and to what extent is it that they have lost their "place" on the job? (3) Effect of marriage on career development, and the attitudes and interactions among family members. (4) Implications of work expectations for the educational aspirations of young women: underestimating the likelihood of working may result in inadequate preparation for work.

Work Attitudes, Satisfaction, and Attachment

Nearly two-thirds of young white women and more than half of young black women say they like their jobs "very much," and no more than 4 percent of either group say they dislike their jobs "very much," according to National Longitudinal Survey data.[13]

For the white women, the "perceived chances of obtaining a desired occupation" explained their response more than other factors did. Among black women, however, it explained less than did other factors, indicating that opportunity may be less frequently perceived, less present, or less desired among black than among white women.

Considering the large wage gap between men and women and the over-representation of women in lower status occupations, it is surprising that sex differences in overall job satisfaction have not been consistently observed. Moreover, even the few differences that have been observed are small.[14]

An appreciable sex difference in job satisfaction is evident, however, when the presence of preschool children in the worker's household is considered. Women with one or more children under six years old in the household are significantly less satisfied with their jobs than are women with such children.[15] Either these women have poorer paying and less desirable jobs, or their dual roles are a strain for them.

The only sex-related difference repeatedly found in job satisfaction studies is the concern of women with the socio-emotional aspects of work. In both the United States and the USSR women also seem more concerned than men with "comfort" factors (pleasant and clean work surroundings, convenient hours, good transportation), but again differences are rather small.

The young women highly satisfied with their jobs were also likely to be those with relatively high pay, according to the National Longitudinal Survey. Among highly paid white women, 70 percent were highly satisfied. But even among white women whose pay was relatively low, 60 percent were

[7] See, for example, Wendy Lee Gramm, *A Model of the Household Supply of Labor Over the Life Cycle: The Labor Supply Decision of Married School Teachers* (Chicago: Northwestern University, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 200513; Frank L. Mott, *Labor Force Participation and Fertility for Women with Young Children in Rhode Island: An Analysis of Their Interactions and Antecedents* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 212129; and Geraldine B. Terry, *The Interrelationship between Female Employment and Fertility: A Secondary Analysis of the Growth of American Families Study, 1960* (Tallahassee, Fla.: The Florida State University, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 223239.

[8] Sue Goetz Ross, *The Timing and Spacing of Births and Women's Labor Force Participation: An Economic Analysis* (New York: Columbia University, 1974). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 231342.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., and Andrew I. Kohen, *Prospective Fertility among Young Women in the United States: The Determinants of Fertility Expectations and Ideals* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 242791AS.

[11] Ibid., p. 25.

[12] Jusenius and Sandell, op. cit.

[13] Edward A. Nicholson and Roger D. Roderick, *Correlates of Job Attitudes Among Young Women* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1973).

[14] Ibid., p. 10.

[15] Ibid., p. 11.

highly satisfied, compared with only 33 percent of low paid black women.

Among white women whose current occupation was their aspired occupation, 82 percent were highly satisfied, compared with 67 percent of black women.

Older women, aged 35 to 49 in 1972, had similarly favorable attitudes about their jobs. As with the younger women, about two-thirds of the older white women liked their jobs very much (see table 4). About three-fifths of older black women were highly satisfied with their jobs. Older black women, therefore, were more satisfied with their jobs than were younger black women.

Table 4. Number and Percent of Employed, Salaried Women, Aged 30-44, Highly Satisfied With Current Job, by Hourly Pay, Occupation, and Color, 1967

Hourly pay and occupation	WHITES		BLACKS	
	Total number (thousands)	Percent highly satisfied	Total number (thousands)	Percent highly satisfied
Less than $1.50[1]	1,091	59	482	54
White-collar	375	69	42	52
Professional, managerial	61	84	6	100
Clerical, sales	314	66	36	46
Blue-collar	224	54	87	48
Nondomestic service	389	61	178	64
$1.50-2.49[1]	3,090	69	373	55
White-collar	1,913	73	129	56
Professional, managerial	348	82	35	88
Clerical, sales	1,565	71	94	44
Blue-collar	845	59	135	49
Nondomestic service	315	74	99	62
$2.50 or more[1]	1,694	75	189	65
White-collar	1,431	77	148	66
Professional, managerial	689	84	85	71
Clerical, sales	742	72	63	61
Blue-collar	196	55	30	54
Nondomestic service	62	75	11	70
Total or average[1,2]	6,267	68	1,207	56
White-collar	3,977	74	347	63
Professional, managerial	1,222	82	135	78
Clerical, sales	2,755	71	212	54
Blue-collar	1,308	56	263	50
Nondomestic service	814	66	303	64

[1]Includes domestic service and farm workers, not shown separately.
[2]Includes respondents for whom hourly rate or pay was not ascertained.
Source: *Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor), Manpower Research Monograph No. 21, vol. 1, p. 185.

As expected, the higher a woman's occupational level, the more satisfied she tended to be. Marital status had little influence on job satisfaction. Women who worked full time were more satisfied than those who worked part time. Women with permissive attitudes about working mothers were more likely to be satisfied than those with unfavorable attitudes. A woman's perception of her husband's attitude toward her working bore a strong relationship to her reported job satisfaction. Among white women, three-fourths of those whose husbands' attitudes were most favorable said they were very satisfied with their jobs, compared with 55 percent of those whose husbands' attitudes were most unfavorable.

"Nevertheless, it cannot be concluded that a husband's attitude necessarily *determines* his wife's psychological work satisfactions. It is equally plausible that women who obtain little direct satisfaction at work share their dissatisfaction with their husbands."[16]

As for commitment to work, the following question was asked: "If, by some chance you, (and your husband) were to get enough money to live comfortably without working, do you think that you would work anyway?" Two-thirds of the older black women say they would work anyway, but only three-fifths of the older white women. Thus, while the black women were somewhat less satisfied with their jobs than white women, they were somewhat *more* committed to them.

Commitment varied by occupational group, with professional and managerial workers the most committed (see table 5). Married women were less committed than unmarried women (10 percentage points). White women with young children were less committed than those without young children (51 percent and 63 percent, respectively), but the pattern was much less distinct with black women.

Among employed white women, there was a strong and consistent inverse relationship between the time required to get to work and the degree of job attachment. The pattern was less clear for black women.

As satisfied and committed to their jobs as women indicated they were, the vast majority of them were not so firmly attached to them that they would not leave for other jobs that offered higher wages. On this score, black women were less attached than white women to their jobs — 25 percent vs. 39 percent.

Table 5. Number and Percent of Employed Women, Aged 30-44, Who Would Work, Even if Financially Unnecessary, by Occupation and Color, 1967

Occupation	WHITES		BLACKS	
	Total number (thousands)	Percent who would work	Total number (thousands)	Percent who would work
Professional, managerial	1,459	74	147	76
Clerical, sales	2,969	60	215	62
Blue-collar	1,359	45	264	59
Domestic service	148	40	269	66
Nondomestic service	1,003	56	323	74
Farm	181	57	34	84
Total or average	7,120	59	1,253	67

Source: *Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor), Manpower Research Monograph No. 21, vol. 1, p. 174.

[16]*Dual Careers*, vol. 1, p. 190.

A review of studies of work satisfaction[17] indicated that at least one-third of all studies were concerned with differences in attitudes toward work of the disadvantaged compared with other workers; these studies generally found no significant difference. The review made little reference to studies of male-female differences in work attitudes, although many factors relating to job satisfaction had been examined, including material rewards. "Notably, and for whatever reason, the latter factor is given considerably less attention in the studies under review than all of the others. In general, the studies tend to follow the argument of the human relations school: job satisfaction will increase directly in relation to democratic styles of organization. . ."[18]

The human relations "approach represented a change in the outlook of management, from forthright authority as a means of exercising control, to manipulation. The organizational goals have not changed. It is only the organizational methods that have shifted."[19]

The significance for women workers of material rewards or "democratic styles of organization" was not clear in the available research.

[17]Jules Cohn, *The Effects of Organizational Experiences on Employee Attitudes Toward Work: A Review of Recent R&D Sponsored Research* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 1974). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 231047.

[18]Ibid., p. 26.

[19]Ibid., p. 30.

4. LABOR MARKET MARGINALS

The research focus on the issue of *equality of earnings* between men and women, especially among fully employed workers, has tended to obscure other pressing issues which, though related, are nevertheless distinguishable from the question of the earnings gap. These issues relate mainly to the marginals in the work force, to questions of absolute standards, the availability of *any* work, the general levels of demand in the economy, minimal levels of earnings and support, the structure of peripheral employment, and questions of nonparticipation in the labor force (whether voluntary or involuntary). Among these issues, perhaps only matters involving marginals who are on public welfare have been given significant attention by researchers and programers.

What has been most astonishing about the labor force participation of women, and most helpful to them, is that since 1940 the number of women in the labor force has almost tripled, reaching 37 million by 1975. In 1940, 26 percent of women were in the labor force, and by 1975 their average participation rate was 46.4 percent.[1] Furthermore, in the course of the year, about 55 percent of all women were in the labor force at one time or another. Not much is known about the effects of this massive entry of women into the work force, but it is safe to observe that it has profoundly affected all aspects of women's work and society as a whole. It also is apparent that this revolution resulted from high and continuing demand for labor in a prospering economy after World War II, as well as from fertility control.

Nevertheless, fewer than half the women who are in the labor force during a given year work full-time the year round. Many work part-time or part-year, and disproportionate numbers are unemployed — last hired, first fired. Many unsuccessful jobseekers become discouraged and drop out of the labor force. Many more full-time housewives would undoubtedly seek work if attractive opportunities existed. Combined, these marginals are the overwhelming majority of women.

As Darian suggested, married women will enter the work force when the overall demand for labor is great enough, and when rewarding and fulfilling work is available.[2] The issue is more one of demand than of inequality in earnings, though the two are linked.

The Peripheral Worker

The peripheral worker, according to Morse,[3] is one who works part-time (a short workweek) or intermittently (less than a full year). Women are by far the most numerous peripherals. In 1965, women made up over 20.5 million of the 38 million peripheral workers.

The great majority of women who worked (six in ten) were peripherals. During the years of childbirth and rearing, peripherality was especially high. Thus, among women aged 25 to 34, only 19 percent worked full time, year round.

Peripherality was concentrated largely in agriculture, trade, and services, while manufacturing and government employment were mainly free of peripherality. It was also concentrated in a few occupations. One in three peripherals was a private household worker, a retail salesperson, a farm worker, a waiter/waitress, or a general laborer.

Although peripherality has declined somewhat over the years, its durability prompted Morse to question the extent to which the work force is becoming bifurcated between the "mainstream and the marginals." The forces making for enduring peripherality, he said, are the following: (1) The increasing work role of women, especially married women; (2) the expansion and extension of education, which increases the number of youthful peripherals; and (3) persistent discrimination, which assigns the disadvantaged (women, minorities, and others) to peripherality.

Peripherality of women was highly concentrated in the trade and service industries. In manufacturing, the experience of women was strikingly different from that in all other industries. In durable goods manufacturing, fewer than 5 percent of women worked part time. In *non*durable manufacturing, about 10 percent were peripherals, and these were mainly concentrated in two industries — printing and food and kindred products.

In manufacturing, according to Morse, work was made less peripheral in many cases by the presence of unions.

> One of the institutions which helped the immigrant to achieve stable employment, tolerable hours, status, and a sense of belonging to the industrial world was eventually to be the trade union. Seniority, pensions, grievance procedures, all were developments which permitted a sizable portion of the American labor force finally to achieve full commitment.[4]
>
> The lesson that their father's experience passed on to [the immigrants] was starkly simple. The fundamental function of a workers' institution must be to provide status. It must define the boundaries between those who have a stake in the society and the outsider. Wages are important, it is true, but the measure of the success of a trade union can never be simply its ability to raise wages. Above all, a trade union exists to try to prevent its members from being treated as if they were peripheral.[5]
>
> The typical white married male has achieved a considerable degree of status which provides him with the expectation of continuity of employment if he so desires. In some cases the status is derived from the power of his union. In other cases, particularly for the white-collar worker, it is derived from the character of the large-scale industrial and commercial bureaucracy which demands continuity of office (and personnel) where possible.[6]

[1] *Employment and Training Report of the President 1976* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1976), p. 142.

[2] Jean C. Darian, *Labor Force Participation of Married Women in the United States: An Investigation of the Role of Occupation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 211852.

[3] Dean Morse, *The Peripheral Worker* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969). ETA-ORD

[4] Ibid., p. 108.

[5] Ibid., p. 64.

[6] Ibid., p. 65.

When the European immigrant was no longer available for peripheral work, other demographic groups replaced them: Women, youth, older workers, and minorities such as blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans. "It goes without saying that members of each of these groups are easily identified and carry with them socially defined marks of their 'inferior' status."[7] Since they are different, they can more easily be discriminated against and confined to the secondary and bifurcated labor market.

Morse, however, stressed early socialization, rather than discrimination or lack of investment in human resources, as an explanation of female peripherality. In his view, role stereotypes and early socialization at home and in school were responsible for the weak commitment of women to the labor force, and for their consequent marginality.

For the typical female child, neither early childhood nor school experiences "encourage the formation of positive commitment to eventual full-time work experience. Rather the female child tends to develop highly ambivalent attitudes toward work. Adult work may be seen as punishment for failure to be sufficiently feminine to get married or to stay married."[8]

In school, mathematics and science courses are thought of as masculine. Activities "center around sports in which hard work leads to success, in which 'team spirit' is inculcated as part of the preparation of the adolescent boy for the kind of cooperative work activity which he will be engaged in as an adult. The figure of the girl cheerleader could hardly better symbolize the 'peripheral' quality of the adolescent girl in the masculine world of effort, pain, achievement, and failure."[9]

Morse did not ask to what extent acceptance, and inculcation, of these stereotypes was merely a response to the realistic prospects of women — discrimination and the lack of opportunity in schools and the labor market. The question, then, comes to this: Is the peripherality of women a result of stereotypes, or are the stereotypes a result of women's peripherality, and of discrimination in the labor market? (Relevant research on women who work part time or intermittently is discussed in chapter 5.)

Unemployed and Discouraged Workers

Very little is known about two afflicted groups of women workers, or would-be workers: The unemployed and the "discouraged workers," those who want jobs but have given up looking for them.

Unemployment rates are known to be generally higher for women than for men. In 1975, for example, 8.0 percent of women workers (2.6 million) and 6.7 percent of male workers (3.4 million) aged 20 or over were unemployed.[10] Unemployment rates were significantly higher for blacks: 12.1 for black women and 12.4 for black men vs. 7.5 for white women and 6.2 for white men.

A total of 58 million people over the age of 15 were *not* in the labor force during 1975.[11] Of that total, 5.2 million reported that they wanted but were not looking for a job. This group included 1.1 million who were not looking for work because they thought they could not get a job — the so-called discouraged workers. Most of this group were age 20 or over, 631,000 women and 272,000 men.

There is growing awareness that the unemployment rate figures do not explain enough about the disparities in unemployment among demographic groups.[12] The data that are available suggest that two components of unemployment rates also be examined: Turnover rates and average duration per spell of unemployment. The black-white difference in unemployment can be traced primarily to turnover rates and the male-female differences, to duration of unemployment.

Women had higher unemployment rates than men mainly because their spells of unemployment lasted longer. Education made a difference in the duration of unemployment spells for women, but not for men. College-educated women took less time in finding a job than high school graduates. This is consistent with the fact that women high school graduates are less likely to work than are college-educated women. And, contrary to popular belief, married women had shorter spells of unemployment than single women, and for black women, the duration of unemployment rose with wages.

A study of unemployment among young women (14 to 24) with work experience, based on National Longitudinal Survey data, found that these unemployed were apparently looking for jobs different from those they were likely to get.[13] Fewer than 5 percent of these unemployed young women sought jobs as babysitters; yet about a third of all employed women of these ages were actually working as babysitters. Over two-thirds of the unemployed white students sought clerical and sales jobs, but only a third of their employed counterparts were working in such jobs.

High unemployment among women, then, can probably be explained mainly by the difficulties they exerience in getting good jobs.

The Working Poor

The working poor are another afflicted, and generally ignored, group. Among the fully employed (full-time, full-year) who earned less than $3,500 in 1967, 45.5 percent were white females, 10.6 percent were black females, 33.5 percent were white males, and 9.7 percent black males.[14] Such data indicate an extreme underrepresentation of white females among the working poor, a situation that has received little attention. White women were only about 30 percent of the

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., pp. 78-79.

[9] Ibid., p. 78.

[10] *Employment and Training Report of the President, 1976*, op. cit., p. 223.

[11] Ibid., p. 230.

[12] Nancy S. Barrett et al., *Disparities in Unemployment Experience: A Cross-Section Analysis* (Washington: The American University, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 236670/AS.

[13] Diane Rochelle Chappelle Faulk, *Job Expectations and Unemployment Among Young Women with Work Experience* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 222738.

[14] Barry Bluestone et al., *Low Wages and the Working Poor* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 206095.

total labor force; their proportion of the fully employed labor force would be considerably smaller. Yet they were close to half of the fully employed working poor.

For white females, 80 percent of low-wage employment was concentrated in three occupational groups: clerical and kindred workers, operatives and kindred workers, and service workers.

Bluestone concluded that a large part of the variance in earnings among employed workers was due to factors other than personal characteristics (education, health, etc.). Institutional factors, he said, played a critical role in trapping many workers in low-wage jobs. Manpower programs alone, he concluded, could not be expected even to ameliorate the present situation to a significant extent.

Income differences between men and women persist into their retirement years. Older women are nearly twice as likely to be poor as men of the same age, mainly because more women have worked at low paying or part-time jobs. Thus they get lower social security benefits. The average monthly benefits for retired women were about $180 in 1975, compared with $255 for men.[15]

Families Headed by Women

Nearly 5.6 million families in March 1970 were headed by women, and despite rising employment in the sixties, almost 2 million of these families lived in poverty.[16] More than 1 family in 10 was headed by a woman. Although the total number of families rose 14 percent during the sixties, the number of female-headed households rose by 24 percent. During that period, the income of families headed by men was more than double that of families headed by women. The number of families headed by men with incomes below the poverty line decreased by one-half during the sixties, but the number of poor female-headed families remained unchanged: about 1.8 million.

In March 1970, 43 percent of the female heads of households — nonpoor as well as poor — were widows; 46 percent were divorced or separated from their husbands. The rest, about 600,000, had never been married, and about a third of them had children under 18.

Female-headed families were most common among the poorly educated, low income groups, minority groups, and city residents. About 13 percent of these female heads had some college education, however. Black families with children were much more likely than white families to have a female head: 1 in 3, compared with 1 in 10 among white families.

Three policies have been recommended by Ross and Sawhill to meet the needs of female-headed families: Increase work opportunities and earnings; increase and facilitate income support from parents to children; reform and extend the system of public income maintenance.[17]

The Homemaker

The largest group of adult women in the Nation are those who work in their own homes. Though they work at tasks that are perhaps as clearly defined as those of most jobs, they are not regarded as part of the labor force. They are, therefore, less than marginal to the market, they are counted out of it.

Efforts have been made to calculate the value of their services. In 1918 the National Bureau of Economic Research estimated the value of the homemaker's work as one-fourth of the gross national product (GNP), and 10 years later Simon Kuznets derived a similar estimate. Swedish economists in the 1930's suggested that the home services of wives and daughters be assigned the same value as that of domestic servants.

Colin Clark devised a method of placing a value on such work in industrial societies, and deplored the fact that such values were not included in the GNP.[18] "Not to recognize the value of these productive services is a source of serious bias in the national product," according to Gardner Ackley.[19]

The problem in assigning a value to housework is that the tasks are so varied. Some are simple and manual, as washing and cleaning. Some are skilled, as cooking and decorating. Some are highly professional, as rearing and educating children, counseling family members, providing love and leadership. Assigning the value of the domestic worker's wages to all these tasks would grossly underestimate the value of services performed.

A less complex and fairer way of assigning value, according to Kreps, is simply to impute the value of income foregone by homemakers.[20] That is, what would the homemaker earn if she took a job? The opportunity costs for homemakers are the costs of earnings they forego by not being in the labor force.

Because no price is placed on a homemaker's work, the value of these services is not part of the national income figures. At one time the computations of the gross national product excluded the value of services that families perform for themselves. Now, agricultural commodities produced and consumed by the family, as well as owner-occupied housing, are included in the calculations. A similar inclusion of the value of the homemaker's work has been discussed, but no action has been taken.

It has been suggested that women be paid, presumably out of public funds, for the value of their services as homemakers. Calculating these services at one-fourth of the GNP, such payments would hardly be feasible. But including the value of such services in the GNP, and recognizing that the homemaker's job is an occupation much like any other performed outside the house, might have beneficial effects. The homemaker might come to take greater pride in her (or his) occupation, knowing that it has recognized social value. It would also help to legitmate its standing as a job, subject to the same benefits and attention from government sources as any other occupation. The implications for employment and training

[15] *Women and Social Security: Adapting to a New Era* (Washington: 94th Cong., 2d sess., U.S. Senate, Special Committee on Aging, 1976). Committee print.

[16] Robert L. Stein, "The Economic Status of Families Headed by Women," *Monthly Labor Review*, December 1970, pp. 3-10.

[17] Heather L. Ross and Isabel V. Sawhill, *Time of Transition, The Growth of Families Headed by Women*, (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1975), pp. 173-179.

[18] Colin Clark, "The Economics of Housework," *Bulletin of the Oxford Institute of Statistics*, May, 1958.

[19] Gardner Ackley, *Macroeconomic Theory* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 55.

[20] Juanita Kreps, *Sex in the Marketplace: American Women at Work* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971). ETA-ORD. Policy Studies in Employment and Welfare No. 11.

programs might be significant. If homemaking is a job, then attentions should be turned to job preparation and training, and to the upgrading of the occupation, to include perhaps community and consumer organization functions as well as purely domestic tasks.

Benefits accruing from such a redefinition would include social security benefits and allowances under training programs.

It is most interesting to note that, according to a Rossi study, the prestige of the housewife's job is considerably higher than it is usually assumed to be, relative to other female jobs.[21] That study found, in fact, that if women are interested in maximizing their status, they can gain more status as housewives than they would otherwise obtain in 70 percent of the other "women's jobs." This suggests that the status of most women's work is low rather than that the status of the housewife is high.

Minorities, Migrants, Immigrants, and Mobiles

Although considerable data exist on minority women — especially black women — the data need to be synthesized more fully, and more attention should be directed to Hispanic, Asian, American Indians, and ethnic white minorities and their work experiences as well as to blacks.[22] A major analysis has been done of Chinese American manpower, but rather little material is available on other groups.[23]

Similarly, little study has been devoted to the special problems and experiences of migrant women (including rural migrants and migrant workers), immigrants (those entering the country from abroad), and mobiles (those who simply move with their families, often from one metropolitan area to another, usually to improve their economic conditions).

Most of these women have special problems of adjustment and labor force participation. One example of the research that is possible on these subjects is a study of southern migrants to Cleveland.[24] Interviews found that the contrast between the sexes was far greater than that between races. Premigration jobs at or above the clerical-sales-operative level were held by 55 percent of the white men and 46 percent of the black men, but by only 26 percent of the white women and 22 percent of the black women. Women more often than men had worked at low skill jobs, and they had more often not worked at all. The reasons they gave for coming to Cleveland less often had to do with jobs and wages.

Still, "considering the interest they expressed in work, it is clear that unmet needs are greatest among the women and that they form the greater wasted manpower resource."[25]

The Working Class Woman, Blue- and White-Collar

Certain occupational groups form a broad and often quite loosely defined group which may appropriately be called "the working class." The male working class is composed mainly of those who work in blue-collar occupations. The female working class is more highly concentrated in clerical, sales-clerk, and related white-collar occupations, although a sizeable proportion are also found in blue-collar occupations. What distinguishes the working class from others is that its members do not work in the professional, upper technical, or managerial occupations of relatively high income, which usually require a college education and often graduate work. The working class, by this definition, would include some 80 percent of all employed people.

In numbers, then, the working class is hardly marginal. It is the overwhelming majority of employed people. What is marginal about it is that, except at the most disadvantaged levels, very little attention is given it by researchers, scholars, or development efforts. Instead, in research relating to women, most attention is focused on professions, academic occupations, managerial and highly technical occupations. Statistical reports on wages, hours, employment and related matters, useful as they are, tell us very little about who these working class women are, how they fare, and what they want from their working lives.

Although large, the working class can be classified in a variety of meaningful subgroups. Perhaps the most useful is the division into two groups: the stable working class and the marginal working class. The marginals are mainly those who do not hold steady jobs that pay a living wage. Fortunately, the Department of Labor's research and development efforts have quite properly devoted considerable attention to this group, since its needs are greatest. What is perhaps required is not a change of focus but a broadening of scope, to include the experiences and needs (which are considerable) of stable, working class women. These women may have steady work at a living wage but they usually have few prospects and few opportunities to emerge from dead-end jobs. It is with this group that concern about the earnings gap has most significance. A review of the literature on blue-collar women, by Pamela Roby, offers useful guides to other inquiries[26] and a volume on working class women identifies the kinship ties between blue- and white-collar women.[27]

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[21] Peter H. Rossi, *Job and Gender: Sex and Occupational Prestige* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 224790.

[22] Patricia C. Sexton, "Minority Group Women," Paper presented at a Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women convened by the U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, June 7, 1974.

[23] Betty Lee Sung, *Chinese American Manpower and Employment* (New York: City College of New York, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 246259/AS.

[24] Gene B. Petersen, Laure M. Sharp, and Thomas F. Drury, *Southern Newcomers to Cleveland: Work and Social Adjustment of Recently Arrived Residents of Low-Income Neighborhoods* (Washington: Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc., 1975). ETA-ORD.

[25] Ibid., p. 256.

[26] Pamela Roby, "The Conditions of Women in Blue-Collar Industrial and Service Jobs: A Review of Research and Proposals for Research, Action, and Policy." Paper presented at a Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, convened by the U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, June 7, 1974.

[27] Patricia C. Sexton, *Workingwomen: Class, Work, Power* (in press).

5. WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS: RESEARCH FINDINGS

The Office of Research and Development has financed many research projects to explore the employment difficulties women face, in order to find ways of ameliorating those difficulties. Other research projects, on employment problems in general, have not dealt with their specific application to women. Projects in both categories reveal three kinds of barriers to the full realization of women's potential as workers: (1) Barriers to entry into traditional male occupations; (2) barriers arising from employers' personnel practices; and (3) barriers related to the amount of work women are able and/or willing to do during their lifetimes.

Entry into Atypical Occupations

Historically, women entering the labor force have gone into traditionally female occupations, even in the professions. Not until the 1970's was a significant effort made to open up, and compete in, male occupations.

Professional Work

In the United States engineering and some sciences have been among the traditionally male occupations. A study of U.S. women who entered science and engineering showed they were less likely than their male colleagues to earn advanced degrees, to marry, or to have as many children.[1] They were more likely to work for the government, to be out of the labor force at any given time, and to work part time or part year. Although women were paid less than men, they were just as likely to remain with their employers as men, and they were less likely than men to have published. These women scientists and engineers scored higher than men on "people-orientation," and lower than men on "intellectualism."

Women college graduates, it was found, tended to think that science, medicine, and engineering were too demanding as careers, and too likely to require a full-time commitment. They considered engineering unfeminine, and requiring abilities women do not have.

As in many other professions, earning a doctorate contributes most, the study concluded, to women who seek equality with men in science and engineering. Part-time schedules with full status and flexible hours are also needed.

With proper guidance and preparation — and outreach in professional schools and among employers — women would probably be as likely to seek careers in science and engineering as many of them have been in the skilled trades, via apprenticeship programs. Job opportunities are available in science and engineering, and women could probably qualify easily because the work demands more academic than physical skills. Yet virtually none of the research and development directed at the labor market experience of engineers, as reviewed by Bain, [2] has dealt with the exclusion of women from this and related occupations.

Our society is a technological and industrialized one, largely operated and managed by people of high technological knowledge. The exclusion of women, whether by custom, role stereotyping, or discrimination, from access to this knowledge seriously limits their aspirations for general equality.

Women who become doctors make the decision to study medicine rather early in life, perhaps because they tend to come from elite, professional families.[3] These women are most often graduates of private colleges and usually rely on parents for financial support. The stresses on those who are single come mainly from academic pressures; for those who marry, interruptions in studies and careers are consistently related to childbearing. The role strain between job and family is dealt with more effectively when they enter practice and are less subject to control by others.

In 1963 between 4 and 6 percent of all medical graduates in the United States were women (compared with 25 percent in England and Western Europe, and 70 to 75 percent in the U.S.S.R.). By 1965 the figure had risen to 7.3 percent of medical graduates. In 1969, 9.6 percent of first year students in medical schools were women, indicating an upward trend in female enrollments.

Except in times of crisis, the United States has made little effort to draw talented women into medicine, and little information has been developed to help in their recruitment. To accommodate women in medical schools, training should be more flexibly scheduled and there should be more opportunity for part-time study, as well as more child day-care facilities.

Careers in management and administration also have special meaning for women.[4] Moving women into management could counter the stereotype that women's role should be one of submission and service rather than dominance and leadership. It might also change the role of managers from that of dominance and authority to one of service and leadership. Moreover, with women in upper management

[1] Deborah S. David, *Career Patterns and Values: A Study of Men and Women in Science and Engineering* (New York: Columbia University, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 208305.

[2] Trevor Bain, *Labor Market Experience for Engineers During Periods of Changing Demand* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). Manpower Research Monograph No. 35.

[3] All the data on women physicians are from Jane Gaudette Jones, *Career Patterns of Women Physicians* (Waltham, Mass.: Brandeis University, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 202896.

[4] Eli Ginzberg and Alice M. Yohalem, *Corporate Lib, Women's Challenge to Management* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

positions, organizations may become more concerned about hiring and upgrading women employees. Yet women are excluded from high-level management positions even though no evidence exists that men have superior gifts as executives.

A study by Ginzberg of educated American women suggested policies that might contribute to better use of the most highly trained sector of the female population.[5] In guidance and counseling, more information should be provided to parents about educational opportunities for their daughters, and ways of making use of their education without foregoing marriage and children. Such information should also be provided to teachers and other counselors of women.

Girls should be encouraged to take college preparatory courses and to study science and mathematics. Schools "should attempt to provide educational and occupational guidance to freshman and sophomore students which would alert them to the expanding role that work has come to play in the lives of women. Second, they should attempt to stimulate them to crystallize occupational objectives within large life plans."[6] More scholarship funds should be provided for women, and more opportunities for mature women to return to school and work.

In work situations, efforts should be made to eliminate hiring and promotion discrimination, to open intramural and extramural training programs to women, and to reexamine nepotism rules.

In the areas of community and of government, volunteer organizations should use women in more meaningful roles. Counseling and placement services for mature women should be expanded, and the hurdles of licensing boards to mature women who seek careers should be removed.

A study of opportunities to change careers after age 35 concluded that "universities are much more flexible than one might have thought. Although there has been and continues to be significant resistance to middle-age applicants, the fact is that a relatively large number of middle-aged men and women are now in these schools."[7]

Questions have been rasied about college women who aspire to, or who work in nontraditional or atypical occupations — those that are traditionally male. The best predictor of innovation, in one study, was found to be recent occupational aspiration.[8] Why do some women aspire to innovative occupations? Half of the innovators mentioned individuals as being responsible for their aspirations. Role innovators had more encouragement from male faculty, while traditionals had more encouragement from female faculty. "It would appear that a supportive role-partner of the opposite sex can be an important ally for the role innovator."[9]

Alice Rossi in a 1965 national sample of 1961 college graduates[10] found that "pioneers" (nontraditionals) had looser ties with their families, were more oriented to ideas, had less need to depend on others or nurture others, or to have intense interpersonal relationships. They are better able to establish egalitarian relations with men, with older people, and with those in authority. Black college women were found to have generally traditional professional aspirations.[11] They are more work-oriented than their white counterparts, however, and are much more likely to see home and work as compatible.

On a national scale, women with lower educational attainment are more likely to work in atypical jobs than more highly educated women.[12] This is especially true of whites, where those with less education are clearly the most likely to work in atypical jobs. Attitudes and background factors were found to have relatively little influence on whether or not women worked in atypical jobs. The question, then, of why some women choose to work in atypical occupations is still largely unsettled.

Skilled Blue-Collar Jobs

Far more attention has been directed toward the skilled trades as possible atypical occupations for women than toward all other atypical occupations combined, although even here activity has been relatively limited.

During the Second World War, 2.9 million women entered blue-collar jobs, but with the War's end, most women were gradually phased out of the skilled blue-collar jobs.[13] During the sixties, the number of women craft workers increased by about 80 percent, to almost half a million in 1970. Vocational and trade school enrollments among women have also grown.

National Apprenticeship Information officers (the U.S. Department of Labor has established 30 Apprenticeship Information Offices[14]) have concluded that women are better able than minorities to pass the tests required to enter apprenticeships; they are not as likely to have educational disadvantages. Almost every trade uses the General Aptitude Test Battery, which is also used by the Employment Service.

Applicants must also be interviewed by employer and union representatives. In this interview women may be disadvantaged because interview impressions are inevitably subjective. "The interview counts for more than people think. If you're something different — your hair, your dress or behavior — you'll be rejected." The Labor Department's Bureau of Apprenticeship, however, limits the number of total points that can be assigned to the interview, requires the interviewer to ask the same questions of everyone, and to write notes on the answers so that he can account for the rating assigned.

[5]Eli Ginzberg, *Educated American Women: Life Styles and Self-Portraits* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966).

[6]Ibid., p. 182.

[7]Dale L. Hiestand, *Career Changers: Professional and Graduate Students After Thirty-Five* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 133. ETA-ORD.

[8]Sandra S. Tangri, *Effects of Background, Personality, College, and Postcollege Experience on Women's Postgraduate Employment* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers, The State University, 1974). ETA-ORD.

[9]Ibid., p. 201.

[10]Alice Rossi, "Women in Science: Why So Few?" *Science*, May 28, 1965, pp. 1196-1202.

[11]Martha T. Mednick, *Motivational and Personality Factors Related to Career Goals of Black College Women* (Washington: Howard University, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 218969.

[12]Carol L. Jusenius and Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., *Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of Labor Market Experience of Women* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1975). Manpower Research Monograph No. 21, vol. 3, pp. 89-95.

[13]*Steps to Opening the Skilled Trades to Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1975).

[14]For a description of the apprenticeship program, see *The National Apprenticeship Program* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, 1972).

The Bureau does not allow the trades to use qualifiers that do not apply to success. All qualifiers must tie directly to success in the trade. In the early sixties extra points were given to veterans and to athletes; that is no longer done. As one commentator remarked, "There's very little they can put in to exclude women per se. The burden is on the Joint (labor-management) Apprenticeship Committee to prove the relevance of qualifications."

Although statistics are not available, it appears that very few women are represented on Joint Committees or at any official level within the apprenticeship system. These statistics should be gathered and efforts made to increase female representation where it is low.

In Europe, national governments have increased their control over apprenticeships and other vocational training. They are also helping employers meet the costs of practical and theoretical instruction. The trend is to train apprentices in logical stages rather than in a single, continuous program.[15] No assessment has been made of the effects of such changes on women. Subsidies and training by stages might open more opportunities to women.

Employer Personnel Practices

Advocates of employment opportunities for women have given relatively little attention to certain employer personnel practices that play a fundamental role in job structuring, grading, and classification and in the hiring and promotion of employees.[16] This section examines the research on job analysis, hiring standards, applicant assessment, and upgrading (or promotion).

Job Analysis

A job analysis study[17] outlines four uses of job analysis: (1) For job restructuring; (2) for developing education and training programs; (3) for examining qualifications; and (4) for evaluating performance. All of these have unexplored applications to the work of women.

A job may, for example, require that the worker lift only one extremely heavy object or pull one extremely heavy switch, only once a day. The task may take only a matter of seconds to perform, but its inclusion in the job description will make it difficult for a woman to fill the job.

Similarly, employers often assume that women cannot perform certain tasks as well as men. Evaluations of their task performance based on job-analysis would in many cases prove these judgments to be false.

The review discussed four approaches to job analysis:

1. The *Department of Labor method*, the most widely used in the U.S. Employment Service and elsewhere. This approach determines what the worker actually does, in relation to data, people, and things; what methods, materials, tools, etc., he uses; and what traits he needs for satisfactory performance.

2. *Functional Job Analysis*. This approach is concerned not only with identifying the way work is currently performed, but also with what should be done, the tasks not being performed, the purposes and goals of the organization, and the extent to which jobs and their performance meet those goals.

3. *Health Services Mobility Study*. This approach deals with designing job ladders, educational ladders, and performance evaluation instruments.

4. *Position Analysis Questionnaire*. This approach describes what the worker does and the general human behaviors involved as "interpersonal activities."

The study's conclusion was that the purposes of a job analysis should determine which approach is to be used. Job analysis is clearly so basic to the structuring and restructuring of jobs and to the creation of career ladders that further inquiries into the meaning of such analysis for women is obviously in order.

Hiring Standards and Assessing Applicants

As with job analysis, the application to women of hiring standards is relatively unexplored. A review of these standards, conducted by Diamond and Bedrosian, summarized its findings as follows.:

> During the last two decades there has been a tendency for employers to raise hiring standards for less skilled jobs. Many have cited the increasing complexity of jobs caused by advancing technology. Others have taken advantage of the rising educational level of American workers. Some have wished to raise the tone of their businesses in terms of some standard of community acceptability. Still others have had the understandable objective of hiring the 'best qualified' workers possible. In particular, the high school diploma has become a symbol of a more highly motivated and versatile job applicant than the person who did not complete high school. In the pursuit of these objectives, significant inconsistencies may have developed between the characteristics of applicants sought by employers and those which are clearly necessary for successful job performance.[18]

Employers have developed standard procedures to appraise job applicants. First is job analysis and description to establish hiring standards. Data on applicants are then taken from application blanks, personal interviews, references, and tests, compared with the hiring standards, and new hires are chosen.

The study found, however, that

> . . . the vast majority of firms did not possess job descriptions for key occupations at low skill levels. Consequently, the setting of hiring standards was a very informal process, with the requirements and preferences being no more than one or two individuals' notions of the kinds of employees needed. Moreover, hiring standards were subjectively determined, they could be raised with little or no reference to the job duties. . . . the standards were the more subjective because they were rarely written. One of the study's most persistent findings was the absence of written hiring standards in virtually all the occupational groups studied. As a result, each employment interviewer and/or

[15] Myron Roomkin, *Improving Apprenticeship: A Pilot Study of Employer and Union Reactions to Foreign Training Practices* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 222830.

[16] The only relevant publication dealing with job analysis, for example, seems to be C. J. Berwitz, *The Job Analysis Approach to Affirmative Action* (New York: Wiley, 1976).

[17] Michael Wilson, *Job Analysis for Human Resource Management: A Review of Selected Research and Development* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1974). Manpower Research Monograph No. 36.

[18] Daniel E. Diamond and Hrach Bedrosian, *Industry Hiring Requirements and the Employment of Disadvantaged Groups* (New York: New York University, 1970). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 191278. Summarized in *Hiring Standards and Job Performance* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1970). Manpower Research Monograph No. 18, p. 1.

supervisor may have tended to establish his own hiring standards with little reference to those communicated informally to him by the company. Thus, the hiring process became highly personalized, involving the individual judgments of one or more personnel specialists who may or may not have been relating an applicant's credentials to the job's tasks.[19]

So it is that subjective and personalized employer hiring procedures, unrelated to job requirements, may be highly prejudicial to the hiring of women. Judgments are likely to be made not on the basis of performance ability but on the basis of whether the applicant resembles those already hired and performing their jobs successfully.

Assessing the disadvantages as potential employees has already been dealt with, but the implications of assessment for women have not been examined. Assessments involving educational credentials — except in vocational subjects and at the Ph.D. level — and paper and pencil tests are likely to favor women. On the other hand, interviews could be prejudicial to women because they are inevitably subjective.

Assessment methods most prejudicial to women — vocational interest and personality inventories — are used far more by school counselors than by employers, but they do reinforce job stereotyping and determine the kinds of jobs women seek. All assessment procedures, applied before and at the time of hiring, require examination in the light of women's experience and the opportunities open to them.

Upgrading

Once hired, what are a woman's chances of progressing? Again, although some attention has been given to the general subject of upgrading, little attention has been paid to the specific problems of women.

A review of research and development on upgrading points out that upgrading is achieved through (1) a single-step promotion or wage increase; (2) a multistep promotion or wage increase; (3) improvements resulting from training or education; (5) improvements resulting from incentives and services to employers aimed at opening advancement opportunities.[20] Other routes to upgrading include change of employer and change of occupation. Little is known about the extent to which women profit from the various forms of upgrading.

Significant findings from the review of research included:

1. Pressures to comply with antidiscrimination laws have been an important incentive to employers to upgrade women and minorities.

2. Economic downturns discourage employers from offering training because skilled workers are more easily available.

3. Despite downturns, some employers, especially in marginal and small industries, concerned about turnover and absenteeism, may initiate upgrading programs.

4. Job dissatisfaction may not be reduced by training that leads only to a few higher level jobs.

5. Employers who face acute shortages of skills respond to upgrading experiments.

6. Many primary labor market employers have their own training and upgrading programs, but these have little impact on lower wage workers. Employers in the secondary market lack not only the training capability but also the higher level positions. Many firms, however, have high level jobs that they do not offer their lower level workers.

Among the findings of a study of upgrading in five New York City industries[21] were: The industries had no difficulty filling skilled jobs, and upgrading was the dominant means of filling them. Formal training by employers to fill skilled jobs was the exception, not the rule; most of the workers who were promoted had learned the necessary skills by informal means. In some occupations, however, the vocational curriculum in community colleges, getting the A.A. degree, and passing licensing requirements (but not high school vocational curricula) gave applicants for skilled jobs a preferred position. "There is overwhelming evidence that women and minority group members are discriminated against when it comes to promotion into skilled jobs or entrance into training programs . . ."[22] Federal funds have interested some unions in training for upgrading. "One of the severe constraints on upgrading is the success of established groups in restricting the pool of potential candidates for better jobs to those who meet certain arbitrary standards of education and work experience."[22] Training for upgrading can be very costly. The ability of Federal subsidies to persuade employers to train for upgrading is questionable. A shortage of part-time public training opportunities exists. Adequate account should be taken of the difficulties of the disadvantaged in competing for the limited number of good jobs available.

These and related subjects need to be explored in connection with the upgrading of women workers.

Job grades are the ranked categories, like school grades, through which workers rise, or fail to rise, in their employment. Unfortunately, very little information about these job grades is disclosed by private employers; indeed, many employers have no such formal system. Information is available, however, on the grading system among full-time white-collar employees in the Federal Government and the position of women in this grade hierarchy. In the lowest three grades approximately three-fourths of those employed are women, whereas in the highest three grades, only 2 percent are women (see table 6).

Since opportunities for women are significantly better in Federal than in private employment, it may be assumed that women are even more concentrated in the bottom grades of private firms.

How Much Work?

Women's proclivity to spend fewer hours on the job than men do (in a given week, a given year, or over their lifetime) has been the focus of several studies. This research deals with

[19] Ibid.

[20] Florence M. Casey, *Upgrading — Problems and Potentialities: The R&D Experience* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1975). Manpower Research Monograph No. 40.

[21] Charles Brecher, *Upgrading Blue-Collar and Service Workers* (New York: Columbia University, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 2148140. Also published by The Johns Hopkins University Press (Baltimore, 1972). The industries were apparel manufacture, food service, health services, local public transit, and construction.

[22] Ibid., p. x.

TABLE 6. Women as Full-time White-collar Employees in Federal Government Agencies,[1] October 31, 1970

General schedule (GS) grade	Salary[2]	Number of employed women	Women as percent of total employed
1	$4,125	2,913	68
2	4,621	18,576	76
3	5,212	86,274	78
4	5,853	139,664	63
5	6,548	191,678	32
6	7,294	65,089	48
7	8,098	54,037	38
8	8,956	12,431	26
9	9,881	43,441	24
10	10,869	3,890	12
11	11,905	19,325	12
12	14,192	9,870	7
13	16,760	4,622	5
14	19,643	1,817	4
15	22,885	942	3
16 and higher	26,547+	158	2

[1]Excludes employees of Central Intelligence Agency, National Security Agency, Board of Governors of Federal Reserve System, and foreign nationals overseas.

[2]The rate for basic pay for employees is step 1 of the grade.

Source: "Study of Employment of Women in the Federal Government, 1970" (Washington, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Bureau of Manpower Information Systems, 1971), pp. 17, 235.

various forms of shortened hours such as part-time (less than 35 hours a week, by definition in the official employment statistics) and intermittent work, unusual work schedules, and turnover, absenteeism, and job tenure.

Part-Time and Intermittent Work

Well over half of all women workers (6 in 10) do *not* work full time year round, as was indicated in chapter 4. Indeed, the most rapid growth in the adult female work force in the past decade has been among part-timers, whose number increased by 54 percent between 1963 and 1973, compared with a 28 percent increase in full-time women workers, and a 14 percent increase in the employment of adult males.[23]

About a fifth of adult women working in 1973 were employed part-time (as distinguished from those who work longer weekly hours but are employed intermittently throughout the year). Working mothers were more likely than others to be part-timers: about one in three. More than half (55 percent) of all part-time women had preschool children.

Part-time increases are attributable mainly to the rapid increase in young married mothers who work, but also to the reentry of many older women into the labor force. Both seek good part-time jobs; many do not wish to be fully employed. Their problem, of course, is that good part-time jobs are scarce, outside of teaching and nursing. Most part-time jobs are in clerical work, retail sales, food service, and cleaning. In manufacturing, only the garment industry has brought in part-timers on a large scale, and it is a low-paying industry.

Not only are part-timers usually poorly paid, they have little job security and few benefits. A 1972 wage survey found that only half of all part-timers received any of the holiday and vacation benefits given to full-time workers.[24] Usually they did not receive life and health insurance coverage, and less than a fourth were covered by a pension plan. Many earned lower hourly wages than those doing similar full-time work.

The employers' rationale for such differentials is evident from a study of Philadelphia firms; they used part-timers primarily to minimize costs (usually through avoiding overtime) in meeting peak loads, utilizing capital investments, or expanding hours of customer service.[25] In the same study, an analysis of current unemployment compensation and pension regulations showed that they discriminate against the part-time worker. The findings suggested a major emphasis on improving the wages and conditions of part-time jobs.

Another study suggested that "employers should be expanding part-time work opportunities in order to attract women of exceptional ability, reduce absenteeism, cut overtime costs, and increase efficiency,"[26] although the researcher recognized that more data are needed to prove the argument on cost and productivity grounds. Only one study of the productivity of part-timers has been made, she reported. The Massachusetts Department of Welfare in 1969 found that part-time caseworkers handled 89 percent as many cases as did full-time workers; and *turnover was only one-third the rate of full-timers*. Further research along these lines should focus on mature women who will make a commitment to a good part-time job, rather than on students and young people who are likely to be transient.

It also needs to be shown, she said, that many jobs can be handled on a part-time basis, and that the benefits to employers offset administrative inconvenience. Researchers, she recommended, should locate women in various occupations and examine both their characteristics and those of the job that make part-time work possible.

Special attention, in her view, should be paid to management jobs. Studies are needed to show what management means and what the precise management tasks are. Perhaps some jobs cannot be put on part-time (or flexible) schedules, but many others can be. Managers are often traveling or attending meetings and are not available to those they manage anyhow.

A useful and successful experiment in public employment of part-time professionals and executives was initiated in 1967 by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.[27] Agencies within the Department identified 60 positions that could be filled by part-timers, and 22 women were selected for them, out of several hundred applicants. Supervisors reported

[23]Carol S. Greenwald, "Part-Time Work and Flexible Hours Employment." Paper presented at a Workshop on Research Needed to Improve the Employment and Employability of Women, convened by the U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, June 7, 1974.

[24]Robert S. Daski, "Area Wage Survey Test Focuses on Part-Timers," *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1974, pp. 60-62.

[25]Ruth W. Prywes, *A Study of the Development of Nonstandard Workday or Workweek for Women* (Bryn Mawr, Pa.: Bryn Mawr College, 1974). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 229614.

[26]Greenwald, op. cit., p. 3.

[27]Margaret A. Howell and Marjorie G. Ginsburg, "Evaluation of the Professional and Executive Corps of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare," *Public Personnel Management*, January/February 1973.

that they were productive employees who had few difficulties in their jobs. The women themselves reported that they valued the opportunities for self-development more than the salaries they received on the job. They also reported a tendency to work more than part-time and some confusion about promotion possibilities and eligibility for fringe benefits.

The Comptroller General of the United States recently reviewed the use of part-time employees in Federal agencies, the advantages and disadvantages of using them, and constraints on their increased use.[28] The review concluded that personnel ceilings on part-time employees should be relaxed or eliminated to allow agencies to use whatever types of employees are needed to accomplish agency functions. The Office of Management and Budget, which imposes these ceilings, did not believe, however, that further relaxation was necessary.[29]

Even with existing ceilings, part-time and temporary employees (in the Executive Branch less the Postal Service) had increased by 40,000 (or 27 percent) in the 4 years ending in 1975, while full-time permanent employees declined by 40,000. During fiscal year 1974, Federal Executive agencies employed an average of 222,880 part-time workers each month, about 8 percent of all Federal civilian employees.

In providing part-time employment, the Government can use a great pool of talent that would not be needed or available on a full-time basis. Part-time employment also benefits many persons who cannot or choose not to work full time. According to agency officials, benefits from using part-time employees include greater flexibility in meeting temporary increases in personnel requirements during seasonal workload peaks and for emergency work and special projects. Disadvantages include increased training and administrative costs because of the high turnover rate.[30]

Research on hours of work has neglected intermittent work, although it, like part-time work, is a form of reduced work-hours. Often intermittent work involves substituting for regular workers during leave periods, or working at temporary or seasonal jobs that do not require a full-year commitment.

In 1974, the annual survey of the work experience of the population indicated that 20.9 million women, of the 42.8 million who did some work during the year, were part-year workers (that is, worked less than 50 weeks).[31] Some 11.3 million of the part-year workers worked at least 35 hours a week while they were employed. The remaining 9.6 million worked not only part year, but also part time.

The vast majority of the part-year workers were so classified for four reasons: unemployment (3.7 million); home responsibilities (10.1 million); school attendance (3.8 million); and illness (1.5 million). Little more is known about these categories than their number. The characteristics of women who want and need to work intermittently ought to be explored, along with the kinds of jobs they do, for both represent an important segment of the labor market.

Clearer definitions and descriptions of intermittent work might facilitate the task of developing jobs, creating more intermittent work opportunities, and upgrading the pay and conditions of the intermittent worker.

Work Schedules

More research is also needed on the scheduling of work hours. Major departures from the typical 5-day, 40-hour workweek include: (1) Compressed (or compact) schedules, (2) flexible schedules, (3) staggered schedules.

The most common variety in the United States has been a compressed 4-day, 40-hour workweek, known as 4-40.[32] About 700 companies are reported to have adopted some form of the 4-day workweek, usually because management hopes that it will increase plant utilization, profits, and the supply of skilled workers. Most of the 700 companies are small, nonunion shops, mainly in manufacturing but also in retailing, publishing, banking, etc. Some have found the 4-40 schedule unsatisfactory, and general interest in it has diminished somewhat.

Most of the incentive for changing schedules has come from management. Workers have not been enthusiastic about the 4-40 week. Although some have responded favorably, many workers have complained of fatigue and a conflict with hours worked by other family members. Unions have favored a reduced workweek rather than compressed schedules and have objected to the 10-hour day required by the 4-40 schedule.

In shifting to the 4-40 schedule, companies may encounter legal constraints or scheduling problems as well as employee and union objections. The companies often find it difficult to coordinate shipments, get parts, and make deliveries to customers. Wage and hour laws in many States require overtime pay for hours worked beyond 8 per day, but many companies adopting the 4-40 schedule reportedly have not increased the pay of their workers even though the workday exceeds 8 hours.

A pilot study of 16 firms was undertaken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to find out what kinds of records were available to answer such questions as: "Does a revised work schedule increase productivity, reduce turnover, absenteeism, raise performance, job satisfaction, and help recruit workers?"[33] Most of the employers kept records which could be used in evaluating the economic impact of revised work schedules, but few had made such evaluations.

This survey of "compressed work schedules" — varying from 4 days, 40 hours (the most common) to 3 days, 35 hours — found that while productivity increased at some firms, it did not change at others, and decreased at the remainder. No turnover reduction was found. Reductions in absenteeism and progress in recruitment were found, however. The effects of overtime were mixed; pay, benefits, and weekly hours did not change much. Improvements in the use of plant and equipment were not made by all employers.

[28] *Part-Time Employment in Federal Agencies, Report to the Congress by the Comptroller General of the United States* (Washington: U.S. General Accounting Office, 1976).

[29] In June 1975, the U.S. Senate had approved a bill that would provide employment opportunities in Executive agencies for part-time workers, but the House of Representatives had not acted on this or similar bills by June 1976.

[30] *Part-Time Employment*, op. cit., p. 1.

[31] Data in this and the following paragraph are from the forthcoming report on the work experience of the population for 1975, to be issued in 1977 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The 1974 figures have been revised from those originally published.

[32] Beverly Bachelman, "Rearranged Work Schedules." Unpublished issue paper (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1975).

[33] *The Revised Workweek: Results of a Pilot Study of 16 Firms* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975). Bulletin 1846.

Flexi-time, which requires employees to be at work during a core period but allows for flexibility of starting and finishing times, has not caught on in the States, as it has in Western Europe, according to one study.[34] Government workers, especially those in municipal government, have led the way in creating such flexible schedules as exist in the U.S. Usually the workers' option is limited: a workday scheduled either from 8 to 4 or from 9 to 5. But Hewlett-Packard Co., the first big American company to adopt flexi-time, allows workers to start between 6:30 and 8:30 a.m. and work 8 hours. And John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. of Boston, which also converted to the 4-day week, allows employees to work any 8-hour period between 7:30 a.m. and 5:10 p.m., provided they are there for the core hours of 9 a.m. to 3:40 p.m.

It is difficult to estimate the potential of revised work schedules. In tight labor markets, when workers cannot be easily recruited and retained, employers have a special incentive to experiment with the scheduling of work hours. They may also seek to offer workers revised hours in lieu of higher pay.[35]

In general, however, it appears that employer incentives to revise hours are not great. Nor have worker or union demands for revised hours been great. Still, the benefits to women (and men) of flexi-schedules are obvious: greater autonomy is permitted in the scheduling of their work hours. The value of compressed or staggered schedules is far less clearcut. Compressed schedules often lengthen the workday to the point where women find it difficult to manage both job and home responsibilities, and staggered schedules often increase the problems in arranging their dual careers. Preferably, workers should have the option of choosing or declining to work such schedules.

Potentially, women can benefit from optional schedules, even though they are still in the experimental stage. Women should not expect large or rapid expansion in optional scheduling, however, since labor surpluses diminish employer incentives to experiment.

Turnover, Absenteeism, Tenure

Undoubtedly the most common explanation, or excuse, given by employers (and researchers) for the marginality of women workers is that they have high turnover and absentee rates. Considering the significance of this issue, it is remarkable how little is known about either turnover or absentee rates.

Available data suggests that differences in turnover rates of men and women are usually small. In October 1968, when the Bureau of Labor Statistics last published separate data, the total separation rate for women factory workers was 5.5 per 100, compared with 4.8 for men: quits were 3.1 for women and 2.7 for men; layoffs and other involuntary separations were 2.4 for women and 2.1 for men.[36] Thus, the belief that women are more apt to quit than men finds scant support in a rate differential that translates to 4 in 1,000!

According to another BLS study, 7 percent of women but 10 percent of men changed their occupation during 1965. Occupation changing was most common among the young. Among 18- to 19-year oids, more than 1 in 4 girls and almost 1 in 3 boys worked in more than one occupation that year; while among workers 35 or older, fewer than 4 percent of women and 6 percent of men had switched.[37]

A study of 65 large chemical and pharmaceutical laboratories showed only moderate differences in turnover between male and female chemists when they were grouped by the type of degree required for the grade of work performed.[38] The overall turnover rates were much less favorable for female chemists because they were so overrepresented at the lowest grade levels, where turnover was highest for men as well as women. Many employers said the difference in turnover was not great enough to make a difference in hiring.

As for absenteeism, a Public Health Service study showed an average of 5.6 days lost by women and 5.3 by men during 1967.[39] Women were more likely to be absent because of acute illnesses and men because of chronic illnesses. The total financial loss represented by absenteeism, according to another study, was as great for men as for women, because the men were likely to stay out longer with their chronic illnesses.[40]

Apparently in some occupations, the illnesses of women last somewhat longer than those of men, while in other occupations such as clerical and government work, the reverse is true.[41] Among single people, young women use more sick leave than young men, but older women use less than older men.[42] Among ever-married people, however, women use more sick leave (6.1 days) than men (4.7 days) even when age adjustments are made.

Higher absentee and quit rates among women often reflect their low job status. Most studies indicate that the higher the job status, the lower the absentee and quit rates. Among Federal workers in 1961, for example, sick leave averaged 9.6 days for women and 7.9 days for men, but among those earning $9,000 to $10,000 a year, sick leave averaged 6.9 days for women and 6.3 days for men.[43]

Job tenure, as measured by continuous employment in the current job as of January 1966, averaged 2.8 years for women and 5.2 years for men.[44] The difference was due entirely to married women; single women had the same job tenure as single men of comparable ages.

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[34] Albert S. Glickman and Zenia H. Brown, *Changing Schedules of Work: Patterns and Implications* (Silver Spring, Md.: American Institutes for Research, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 219117.

[35] H. Goldberg, "A Comparison of Three Alternative Work Schedules: Flexible Work Hours, Compact Work Week and Staggered Work Hours." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1975.

[36] *Employment and Earnings in the United States, 1909-75* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1976), pp. 42-43.

[37] *Occupational Mobility of Employed Workers* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1966). Special Labor Force Report No. 84.

[38] John B. Parrish, "Employment of Women Chemists in Industrial Laboratories," *Science*, April 30, 1965.

[39] *Vital and Health Statistics, Current Estimates from the Health Interview Survey* (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Public Health Service, 1967).

[40] "The Economic Costs of Absenteeism," *Progress in Health Services*, March-April 1963.

[41] Philip E. Enterline, "Work Loss Due to Illness in Selected Occupations and Industries," *Journal of Occupational Medicine*, September 1961.

[42] Philip E. Enterline, "Sick Absence for Men and Women by Marital Status," *Archives of Environmental Health*, March 1964.

[43] *Facts about Women's Absenteeism and Labor Turnover* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1969). Attributed to a March 1963 draft report by the Civil Service on a government-wide study of sick leave in 1961.

[44] *Job Tenure of Workers, January 1966* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1967). Special Labor Force Report No. 77.

Among low-income workers, the job tenure, or "attachment," of women has been found to be higher than that of men. A study of the Continuous Work History File of the Social Security Administration concluded that, "especially significant is the high degree of firm and industry attachment exhibited by females. More than 53 percent of the low-income females in both the New York (City) and national samples were firm stayers over the period [studied]; the corresponding figures for males were 41.7 percent in New York, and 38.5 percent in the Nation. As expected, attachment was found to increase with increasing age."[45]

The study provided revealing insights into the relationship between attachment and upward mobility. In the apparel industry, where women were extremely attached to their jobs, only 32.7 percent advanced in their jobs, whereas 55.3 percent of males who stayed with the firm, advanced. The differential was especially great in the $2,000 to $6,000 income range. Women were hired mainly as operatives and had no major avenues for advancement. Advancement opportunities for both sexes were higher in some New York industries such as banking, than in others such as general merchandising stores or apparel manufacturing.

The failure of women to advance in their jobs, it would appear, is far less related to high quit rates than to the hiring and retention of women in low job grades, at least among low-income workers.

With regard to labor force dropout among women, it was found that of the almost 1 million women who left the labor force in 1963 and had not reentered by February 1964, 89 percent were married.[46] Among women under 24, almost 3 in 4 were out of the labor force because of pregnancy. Even among more mature women (35 to 44), about 1 in 4 dropped out because of pregnancy, and another 19 percent dropped out because of family responsibilities. The most common cause of dropout among older women (45 to 64) was illness (32 percent) and layoffs (18 percent). Of every 10 married women who stopped working, 6 said they were either not interested in returning or did not know.

Clearly, large numbers of women quit work voluntarily because of their "dual careers," but too little is known about quit rates among men to conclude that employers risk higher turnover when they hire women than when they hire men. Indeed, what is most conspicuous in a review of this literature is how little is known, generally or specifically, by individual firms and occupations, about the "risks" to employers of hiring and upgrading women.

A beginning has been made, however, on two of the most frequently cited reasons for reluctance to hire women: Their child-care problems and their health, which allegedly affect both absenteeism and turnover.

Child Care. Only 1 in 10 working mothers (aged 35 to 49) of preschool children used a day-care center in 1971.[47] Almost half of these women had their children cared for at home, by relatives or nonrelatives, while they worked. The rest provided for care in other private homes, often the homes of neighbors. Women, it was found, prefer care in this order: Their own home, home of relatives, day-care center, home of nonrelative.

Only two factors in the lives of those examined were related to the use of day-care centers: The absence of older brothers and sisters to care for a preschool child, and the economic hardship associated with separation and divorce. The limited impact of other factors suggests the central role played by family in child care. "Government policy with respect to day-care centers must not be unmindful of existing attitudes and preferences regarding child care, which attach a premium to care by family members. On the other hand, public policy must also recognize the impact that decreasing family size and growth of single-parent households will probably have on the need for day care."[48]

Between 1965 and 1970 the increase in the number of working mothers with young children also increased the demand for child care.[49] At the same time, the number of household workers declined sharply, increasing the need for child care away from home. The suburbanization of industry and population increases travel time for working mothers while diminishing the after-school care they can give their children and increasing the need for child care by others.

It is estimated that full- or part-day care is needed for several million children; yet care in licensed centers and family homes is available for only about 900,000 children.[50] Data from several sources indicate that the absence of child care is not an important inhibiter to women entering the work force. For example, the 1971 National Longitudinal Survey reported that 13 percent of white and 47 percent of black women with children under age 6 said they would enter the labor force if free day care were provided, but only 5 percent of the white and 26 percent of the black women said they were not looking for work during the 1971 survey week because of child-care problems.[51] Apart from this study, there seems to be no firm indication of the number of women who need child care.

Some observers feel there should be more concern about what child care means to the child, rather than to women workers.[52] As it is, little research exists on the type of care given and the effects of different kinds of care on children.

The plethora of federally funded child-care centers, including those funded by the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, and Housing and Urban Development,[53] exemplify the difficulty of reaching agreement on a comprehensive Federal policy. Despite the

[45] Edward Steinberg, *Upward Mobility of Low-Income Workers* (New York: Institute of Public Administration, 1973), p. 1. ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 236192.

[46] "Why Women Start and Stop Working: A Study in Mobility," *Monthly Labor Review*, September 1965.

[47] Carol L. Jusenius and Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., *Dual Careers: A Longitudinal Study of the Labor Market Experience of Women* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1975). Manpower Research Monograph No. 21, vol. 3.

[48] Ibid., p. 93.

[49] Mary Huff Stevenson, *The Determinants of Low Wages for Women Workers* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan, 1975). ETA-ORD.

[50] *Child Care Services* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 1975). Issue No. 20.

[51] Jusenius and Shortlidge, op. cit.

[52] See, for example, Richard L. Shortlidge, Jr., *Changes in Child-Care Arrangements of Working Women, 1965-1971* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1975). ETA-ORD.

[53] Tow of the experimental day-care centers sponsored by the Department of Labor are discussed at the end of ch. 6.

Coordinating Committee on Child Care, little coordination reportedly exists. The Comprehensive Child Care bill, passed by the Congress in 1971 and vetoed by the President, might have met many of the needs for expansion and coordination of child-care programs.

Conflicts between higher and lower income women over the quality and quantity of child care have also made agreement more difficult. Black groups have generally wanted to increase the quantity of care, the number of facilities, while higher income women have been more concerned about quality.

Health. Rather little is known about the health of women, considering how basic health is to job performance and to what employers regard as excessive sick leave among women. What is known is that a large number of women report acute and, in later years especially, chronic illnesses that affect the kind and amount of the work they can do. Other findings suggest that problems of health, while present, do not usually affect work performance. Specifics beyond that are apparently unexplored.

Among middle-aged mothers in poverty groups residing in a rural-urban fringe of upstate New York, it was found that medical complaints, nervous symptoms and physical and mental disabilities were related to unemployment.[54] Most of the sickness was chronic and preventable. Dental condition was poor with evidence of neglect. Disabilities arising in early life influenced current welfare status. Past employment was related directly to education and job skills, and inversely to the number of pregnancies. Many of the women had very large families, and over 30 percent had had their tubes tied. Only 57 percent were married.

Obesity was the most common nutritional problem encountered. Unemployment was related to obesity, and the incidence of unemployment rose directly with the degree of fatness. The association between unemployment and obesity could be explained as being due to the co-existence of diseases known to be complications of obesity, such as hypertensive heart disease and diabetes. At an earlier time, control of obesity alone would have increased employability. Since in many cases the obesity had been established long enough for the women to incur serious complications, it would not only be necessary to impose methods of weight control, but also to treat the secondary effects in order to make the women fit for work.[55]

This study, an unusual and very valuable one, points up the need for greater exploration of health requirements among women and the identification at an early preventable stage, of such grossly neglected health problems as obesity.

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[54] Daphne A. Roe and Kathleen R. Eickwork, *Health and Nutritional Status of Working and Non-working Mothers in Poverty Groups* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS. PB 226821.

[55] Ibid., p. 14.

6. UPGRADING WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT: DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

Many experimental projects, often building on research and some involving both men and women, have been undertaken by the Employment and Training Administration in an effort to improve the work opportunities of the disadvantaged, mainly minorities and women. A few of these projects are reviewed in this chapter in some detail, to extract usable information from their experiences.

The first is the Minority Women's Employment Program — the most successful and sophisticated effort to place black women in good jobs in nontraditional fields. The others, in order, are a Memphis project to expand employment opportunities for women; a Wisconsin project on women in apprenticeship; several projects concerning women offenders; demonstrations to upgrade household employment; the development of careers and career ladders in health occupations; the provision of group support to black girls to help them stay in school or find jobs; and, finally, operation of day-care centers.

Minority Women's Employment Program (MWEP)

MWEP was made possible, and was in a sense initiated, by labor market research on Negro employment in the South, carried on by Dr. Ray Marshall (now Secretary of Labor) and others; first at the University of Kentucky and later at the University of Texas.[1]

A study of the Houston labor market, which was part of that research effort, concluded: "For black women, the employment patterns are so patently exclusionary as to warrant immediate investigation. The paramount issue for black women is their inability to penetrate major industries."[2]

Moreover, "training and job placement offer little hope for more than ad hoc accomplishments. Given the gross inadequacies of the welfare system of the State of Texas," and the limited and often nonapplicable minimum wage laws of the State, the situation requires much more than what is available."The suspicion that many of the manpower programs for black women are serving an income maintenance function rather than a training function seems justified. Until the hiring practices are altered, they can realistically perform little other purpose."

Two-thirds of the Negroes in Houston worked for small employers, and in the higher paying sectors (such as petrochemicals), they were in low-status positions.

"The results of the remedial programs in Houston provide very little reason to be optimistic that the trends are being changed very much. Most of the programs have concentrated on entry-level jobs, which do very little to alter the Negro's occupational position."

The Houston report called for institutional changes in education, training, housing, and hiring.

A similar study of the Memphis labor market came to similar conclusions.[3]

MWEP has been based in Atlanta, with extensive and continuing research support from the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas in Austin. The project's goal is to place minority women (mainly black) in nontraditional professional, technical, and managerial jobs. Its target population suffers race and sex, rather than educational or low-income, disadvantages.

The project was originated by Ernest Green, director of the Recruitment and Training Program (RTP) for apprentices, and Ray Marshall, at the University of Texas. Green was, as a teenager, the first student to test integration in Little Rock's Central High School. Dr. Marshall had directed not only the Negro Employment in the South project, but also a study of Negro Participation in Apprenticeship, which included the predecessor of the RTP in New York City. The experience of these two initiators has undoubtedly provided an important backup for the project.

In 1971, the ETA Office of Research and Development funded a pilot project in Atlanta to discover if the outreach strategy for apprentices (of Green's RTP) could be applied to managerial, professional and technical jobs. In the project, then called Black Women Employment Program, the Center for the Study of Human Resources at the University of Texas carried on the research and subcontracted the demonstration phase to the Southern Regional Council.[4] A year later, a parallel effort (named Minority Women Employment Program) was begun in Houston, where the subcontractor was RTP. The Houston project included Mexican, Asian, and American Indian minorities, as well as blacks. Late in 1974, the two projects became one (the Minority Women Employment Program), under RTP, Inc., and the ETA-ORD funded further testing of the approach in other cities, including Dallas, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Cincinnati-Dayton, Tulsa-Oklahoma City.

[1]The research project, sponsored jointly by the Department of Labor and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, analyzed black and white employment patterns in seven southern cities and in selected industries. For a summary of the entire project, see the 3-volume *Final Report: Negro Employment in the South* (Austin, Tex.: The University of Texas, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 219611.

[2]Vernon M. Briggs, Jr., *Negro Employment in the South — The Houston Labor Market* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1971). Manpower Research Monograph No. 23, vol. 1, p. 94.

[3]Arvil Van Adams, *Negro Employment in the South — The Memphis Labor Market* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973). Manpower Research Monograph No. 23, vol. 2.

[4]Allan King, "A Pilot Project to Overcome Barriers to Employment of Minority Women in White-Collar Jobs: Atlanta." Unpublished interim report. (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration.)

The Atlanta project's goal is to make 100 placements a year. As of mid-1975, about 6 to 8 people made application each day, and from 5 to 9 a month were placed in jobs, or about 12 percent of applicants. Although the placement rate may not seem high, the jobs in which women were placed are generally coveted ones and many are in occupations and firms where few if any minority women have ever worked.

Through mid-1975, the entire project had placed about 300 women, most of them in nontraditional jobs, and many of them "firsts" in these jobs. "With such a vanguard, progress toward eliminating the underutilization of minority women begins."[5]

Limiting background factors continue to influence the job success of minority women: "Factors such as discrimination and misinformation are still present in the labor market. It is the latter against which programs such as MWEP can be effectively directed." The project is no substitute for the enforcement of antidiscrimination laws or for institutional change, but it can help meet employer claims that qualified minority women cannot be recruited.

The interim report's recommendations included:

1. Extension of the success MWEP has had with seminars in which groups of minority women are oriented to nontraditional jobs, if possible to industries such as oil and banking where the project had difficulty making inroads.

2. Extension of cross-city linkages. MWEP has successfully used referrals from business contacts in Atlanta and Houston to develop contacts in the new project cities.

3. Followups show that some placements have problems because they are the only minority women on the job. MWEP should, therefore, try to organize their placements into groups, to provide mutual support and to feed back job information into the program.

4. Research should be extended to help in recruitment and job development. Attention should be given to comparisons of MWEP performance with other job matching agencies (for example, college placement offices and the Employment Service). Also, research attention to those *not* placed might help staff decide where to invest their energies.

5. Attention should be given to the possibilities of applying the MWEP approach to other populations, such as black men and white women; and perhaps also to other employers, such as the Employment Service "where underutilization of minorities is severe." The approach might usefully be adopted by women's and other groups, even voluntary organizations that have no funding. Several groups operating in any given locality, however, should be well coordinated.

6. College placement offices might usefully adopt the MWEP approach. Minority colleges usually fail to work with alumni in developing jobs for graduates. In nonminority colleges, minority students are often reluctant to use the placement office.

[5]Robert W. Glover et al., *The Minority Woman Employment Project: A Demonstration Program to Facilitate Entry of Minority Women into Managerial, Professional, and Technical Occupations, November 15, 1974–July 31, 1975* (Austin, Tex.: The University of Texas, Center for the Study of Human Resources, June 15, 1975), p. 55. ETA-ORD.

The Outreach Strategy

The outreach strategy of MWEP derives from the RTP approach to placing minority males in building trade apprenticeships. The strategy has also been used among rural southern workers and in occupations such as fire fighting and other skilled blue-collar jobs.

Central to the outreach strategy is an organization with limited staff and scope that aims to serve the needs of *both* employers and its minority clients. Unlike other placement or job-matching groups, it examines the hiring and screening practices of specific employers and then prepares applicants to meet those requirements.

Important to the program's success are the following: (1) specialization — knowing what their goals are, working in a limited area, becoming acquainted with all employers and personnel people; (2) counseling — personal counseling of applicants, systematic evaluation of the effects of counseling, and support after they are on the job. The program has a definite focus and a somewhat defined procedure. It operates on general guidelines, but continues to learn, transmit information, and fill in the gaps as it moves along. According to the staff, flexibility is essential: "Don't take anything for granted."

Recruitment and Networks. Outreach also involves recruitment in the minority community and the dissemination of job and career information to it. Because informal, word-of-mouth networks are important in the job search, the program tries to develop such a network in the minority community. Recruitment sources include minority news media, radio and TV, graduates of nearby and other minority colleges, alumnae groups, black sororities, and other women's groups, college placement officers and faculty, and minority professional organizations.

These networks are used not only for recruitment but for feeding back information to the program about job opportunities and making contacts useful to job applicants.

Outreach to Employers. An important part of the program's outreach to employers, which overlaps its outreach to the black community, is the contact it has made with black personnel officers in local business. The Atlanta Black Personnel Association was created by the program and the Urban League. In 1975 the association had about 45 members from about 40 companies. Membership now includes nonpersonnel officers as well; about a third of the members are women.

The association has tried to make it possible for blacks to observe Martin Luther King Day. It has also tried to open nontraditional supervisory jobs to blacks, most of whom have been assigned Equal Employment Opportunity responsibilities. MWEP staff has held sensitivity sessions with black personnel people. A major problem has been fear of female aggressiveness: the fear of males that females are castrating them. Women have felt that they must be passive in order to seem sweet and feminine. Sensitivity sessions have tried to deal with these feelings, and with opportunity barriers to the employment of black women.

In an outreach to employers, the project director makes contacts with firms shown by prior research to need present or

future personnel. Research tries to identify the people who make hiring decisions at each firm. Job development research also includes the following information: Informal as well as formal job requirements, the seasonality of hiring patterns, upgrading paths, detailed step-by-step hiring procedures, the firm's decisionmaking procedures on new hires, training programs, job security, and career paths from various entry-level jobs.

Some applicants have difficulty with relocation — moving to another area to take a job. "It's not that they are immobile," staff feels, "it's that they don't know how to move." The program counsels them on this problem, giving them role models to follow.

Followup

After referrals, applicants and employers are debriefed, and the reactions of both are reviewed so that the program, and those involved, may learn from each experience.

Applicants, who are placed are organized into an alumnae association which offers support and information feedback. In Houston, an industrial pyschologist meets with the group and helps it draw on its own resources to solve work problems. The problems encountered have recurring themes: (1) Lack of challenging work and opportunity to use capabilities; (2) assignments beyond their training or job requirements; (3) complaints that others (usually men) get credit for their work; (4) breaking out of the stereotyped roles in which employers place women.

Research

Research done by the Center for the Study of Human Resources performs many vital functions for the project, including the provision of the following:

1. Feasibility studies used in selecting new cities for the project.
2. Information on companies that are expanding and are likely to need new personnel.
3. Contacts with top management of such companies.
4. Assistance in training and orienting new staff.
5. Information on labor market for staff, to help establish credibility with companies they contact.
6. Information for staff use in community relations work (speeches, workshops, etc.).
7. Feedback to staff about performance.
8. Up-to-date baseline data on labor markets.
9. Project evaluation and review of experience useful to other projects.

The criteria of success for the program are: Number of placements, work experience of those placed, quality of placements, extent to which employers are opened up, and movement into nontraditional occupations and firms. Judged on all these criteria, the program has been found successful.

Research meetings are held once a month with the three researchers and the MWEP staff. The staff says that because the researchers are white males they are able to make important contacts with employers. Staff also feels it is important to have directors from outside.

Research needs that have been identified are: (1) Information on a control group with which to compare the experimental group; (2) analysis to locate the cause-effect relationship of the program's components; and (3) studies that would isolate the effects of counseling, short of placement, and that would clarify the different effects of racial and sex discrimination.

Staff is considering the possibilities of smaller labor markets, such as Mobile, Ala., where medium-sized employers are located and where even greater opportunities may exist.

Although the program has considered the implications of applying its approach to other populations, the staff believes its success lies largely in its specialized focus (specific locality, population, employers, jobs), and it is reluctant to take on diversified functions without carefully considering the consequences.

MWEP has, however, successfully adapted the RTP model to other populations and purposes. The differences between the two are essentially the following:

1. More employers in the women's program and more types of jobs.
2. Less formalized system of application and hiring; apprenticeship is highly structured.
3. More individualized and diversified qualifications; each employer has his own subjective requirements.
4. Need for research on markets in the women's program; no need in apprenticeship.
5. No need to deal with unions in the women's program.
6. More need to influence the supply side, the applicant.
7. More focus on personal manner and presentation of self.

Volunteers

In the view of staff, Atlanta has few black, affluent housewives who are available for volunteer work in counseling and job placement. Usually volunteers (in the YWCA and such groups) are retired teachers and other educated, middle-class, mainly white women, who have the time and experience to do volunteer work.

Also, it was said, programs can use volunteers successfully on short-term projects, but most program activities need consistency of help and a paid staff. AWOW (Atlanta Women on the Way, an offshoot of WOW in Washington, D.C.), for example, has experienced real difficulties in getting volunteers to staff its program.

Implications for Other Placement Programs

Colleges. MWEP points up the need for improved guidance and placement services in colleges. Most students have no practical feel for what the market offers and receive no real career guidance. Colleges need to begin career guidance in the freshman year. More counselors and placement people in colleges, and even high schools, should have more and better career information. Many placement officers are not even aware of how many blacks and Hispanics are graduating in their colleges. They often underestimate the number of

potential applicants for higher level jobs. College seminars in which MWEP participates are usually initiated by faculty, rather than by guidance or placement people. Contrary to some expectations, however, the colleges are highly receptive to MWEP's efforts.

It is also necessary to work with employer recruiters. Many of them think that local black colleges are two-bit schools where they need not bother to recruit. They underestimate the local resources and the quality of graduates. Usually they do not know much about the black colleges, and many are prejudiced against them.

The U.S. Employment Service. Certainly the experiences of MWEP (and RTP) have many implications for that most significant of job placement agencies — the U.S. Employment Service. The major lession is probably that personal relations and personal service to applicants and employers pay off. The personal service depends on the size of the unit. Small units can more easily become familiar with clients and give them personal service.

The Employment Service, in the view of some MWTP staff, needs to pay its staff better. When staff is not well paid, it tends to be less creative and less interested in helping others find well-paid, rewarding jobs. Employment Service staff, it is said, also needs to have more contact with employers outside the office. "It is depressing to have people coming in all day asking for jobs. The staff needs to get out in the field and have contact with employers. It's hard to take about jobs when you don't know the employers or the jobs." In the future, MWTP hopes to get involved in discussions about the merit system and the testing practices of ES, which limit minority hiring. Some 50 employment agencies in Atlanta are making money on people's job needs, it was said, because of the failures of the Employment Service and college counselors.

The Work Incentive Program. WIN was said by MWEP staff to be a good program but also lacked contact with employers, coordination of services to applicants, and attention to entry-level jobs that might have future prospects.

Impressions of MWEP

The visitor to the MWEP can hardly help but be impressed by and admiring of its operations. The atmosphere is at once businesslike and palpably cordial, hospitable, friendly, a remarkable combination of qualities. Above all, the visitor gets the strong impression that people enjoy their work and one another. Not to say tensions are absent, but they do not dominate the modd of the program. The program certainly appears to be what it says it is: highly personalized. Also, the staff is on target, knows what it is doing, and what its goals are, and is again what it calls itself — specialized.

Beyond that, one senses an exceptional form of collaboration in the program between research and demonstration. Both on the record and in all appearances, the two appear to have achieved an unusual balance of objectivity and mutual support. For those who lament the lack of relevancy in much social research, this collaboration offers a good example of what research can do.

In criticism of this and similar programs, it is said that black women are relatively well off in the labor market and don't need such attention. All available research indicates convincingly that this is hardly the case in Atlanta or elsewhere.

It is also charged that only antidiscrimination laws and legal action are effective in moving minorities into decent jobs, and that most other activities are irrelevant. Certainly the law is paramount in upgrading minorities, but it cannot bear the whole burden. Court cases have little followup and are usually expensive. They do, however, provide a wedge, and sometimes a large opening, through which minorities and women can, with some guidance, enter the primary labor market. The main force of the law is now felt perhaps less through court cases than through the threat of court cases. It is when employers operate under such a threat that employment programs can be most effective.

Notes on Recruitment and Training Program

The Recruitment and Training Program, Inc. (RTP), was created in 1964 by the Workers' Defense League to recruit blacks into the construction trades. RTP, the parent of MWEP, maintains offices in New York, Boston, and Cleveland, and in each office they now have one representative who works on recruiting women into the trades. In Cleveland, they are recruiting women from the Job Corps, women who have already had some preparation in the skilled trades. Cleveland and Boston have done better than New York in getting women into apprenticeships. The New York construction trades are said to be less cooperative with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and there is less information available to RTP on which New York employers are not in compliance with the law. The shipyards and maritime unions, in addition to the construction industry, have been taking on women.

Earnest Green (formerly RTP director and now Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment and Training) says he sees no major barriers to apprenticeships for women, either with employers or with women. He believes that women can handle all the trades, except perhaps structural iron work and elevator construction. Skilled workers now have laborers to move heavy pieces. Even stonemasons and bricklayers have helpers and equipment that makes their jobs easier physically, so far, Green says, women have been able to handle all these jobs. The only problem has been with their coworkers codding them, helping them too much. But this, he feels, will pass as more women take on these jobs. Women have an advantage in qualifying for apprenticeships because they are "good in school and good at passing tests." Good money is their incentive to enter the trades.

The major problem of entry is that there are relatively so few jobs in the skilled trades.

Green finds that white women are more receptive to the skilled trades than black women, mainly because there has been so much emphasis on demasculinizing black women.

One of the most significant and innovative activities of RTP is its work in testing. The results of this work are nothing less than astonishing. Not only has RTP devised a whole new approach to test-taking, it has, in a sense, devised a new approach to instruction. Though it has been applied, with modifications, to MWEP, a description of its procedures lies beyond the scope of this review. The work is significant enough, however, to merit a comprehensive review of its own. Certainly the strong and continuing trend toward the use of written tests in evaluations of all kinds, by employers and by schools, emphasizes the need for further attention to the subject.

RTP runs intensive test preparation classes (4 nights a week for 2 to 3 weeks) for black apprenticeship applicants. On the first night, a test similar to that given apprentices is administered. The instructor goes through the items to find out which were missed and focuses only on those items that trouble the group. The instructor explains only what the group needs to know. Homework is never given. Material to be memorized is handed out, and students do the work on the bus to and from school. "Nothing is taught the way it is taught in school. Since they didn't learn it in school, they won't learn that way here."

The program had to develop its own techniques. Tests were studied: Math, reasoning, mechanical, spatial realtions, verbal. It was found that the hardest way to take the test was the way the directions said to do it, so students were advised not to waste time on directions. Verbal tests were studied and it was found that while 10,000 words are used in standardized tests, only 2,000 of these were the right answers in the tests. This discovery made verbal test-taking easier.

Math was found to be the most difficult subject for blacks, so only practical math is taught, without regard for the whys of new math. All the math terminology was taken out of the tests, and alternative ways of solving problems were looked at. In testing, of course, only the answers count, not the process of finding the answers. An analysis was done of which math problems cause the most trouble and why students miss certain problems.

Not only has the RTP approach demystified tests for students, it has also had some effects on test construction and the inclusion in tests of language familiar to blacks.

In the RTP program, testing is highly developed because tests count so much in apprenticeship applications. Before the program started, no blacks passed the phone company tests. After RTP tutoring, all those who took the tests passed.

In MWEP, the tests matter, but not so much as the personal interview. In MWEP, therefore, the mock interview is stressed even more than testing. Some MWEP staff feel that there is a need to change employer requirements, which depend too much on personal interviews and are more stylistic than academic.

WAGEES (Women and Girls Employment Enabling Services)

WAGEES, a Memphis project, has been a less specialized or targeted project than MWEP. Its population has been black and white, young and old, skilled and unskilled. With a staff of only 2, plus many volunteers, 85 women were placed over a 2-year period in jobs where earning increases averaged $1,750 a year, a significant gain.[6]

The project also opened doors previously closed. Women were placed in security guard jobs with the postal service, in motel maintenance jobs, as drivers, and as blue collar workers in primary industries. The first women law clerk in Memphis, the first women in the school bus system, and the first women bartenders in a national motel chain were placed in their jobs by WAGEES. The project has also recruited female applicants for apprenticeships and assisted them in making application.

Linkages were created with other programs and with the Employment Service. The project's impact has been less on job placement than on changing the attitudes of the community toward the new status of women and convincing it that women need more meaningful and rewarding jobs. Its contacts have been with schools, government, business, unions, the manpower delivery system, and the female population of Memphis.

Contrary to an early premise, the project found that women need jobs more than they need social services to solve their problems. With jobs, it was found they could solve many of their own problems, including many of those relating to child care and transportation.

Another important finding was that women of all levels of education, college-educated to high school dropouts, are reluctant to enter male dominated jobs. Skill training was found to be important for women seeking technical jobs, and for college graduates seeking management jobs.

Basic to the findings was reported "lack of motivation and adequate self-image displayed by the majority of women involved in the project." These lacks were reflected in their reluctance to enter male jobs or, with some, to go to work at all. Here the findings seem to be at least somewhat at odds with other research which has generally found such women as highly motivated to find jobs as other women.

The project found that equal in difficulty to the task of developing jobs was the reinforcement required to get women to apply for available openings in unusual fields for women. Women need assistance in: (1) Formulating a realistic goal for employment; (2) taking advantage of existing skill training opportunities, and (3) after they are employed, seeking opportunities to upgrade their position by accepting the additional responsibilities of the higher paying job.[7]

The reluctance of women to take advantage of promotions was supported by employers contacted by the project. It is debatable, says the report, to what extent this reluctance is attributable to the women or to the employers themselves. Advancement opportunities can be outlined so negatively by employers as to discourage women from moving up.

The project made a distinction between employers who merely profess to offer equal opportunities, and those who adjust their policies in order to practice it. One employer, for example, redefined job descriptions and testing policies, deleting irrelevant information and functions, in order to employ more women. A more common practice is for

[6]Lethia S. Thomas and Sandy Dickey, *Women and Girls Employment Enabling Service, Final Report* (Memphis, Tenn.: United Way of Greater Memphis, 1974) ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 237317.
[7]Ibid., p. 29.

employers to send out notices regularly stating they are equal opportunity employers, but then do nothing about it.

Surprisingly, the project found that it was not difficult to make contacts with employers and get information from them about their hiring practices. Many, especially those with affirmative action obligations, wanted help in recruiting qualified women.

The project expects to devote more energy to recruitment for apprenticeships in the future, and to contacts with unions. "A strong relationship with trade unions is desirable because of the respect they command in the community, the training resource they possess, and the power they have to negotiate on behalf of their workers."[8]

As with MWEP, WAGEES is concerned about its status under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). Staff feels it is difficult for special programs on women to fit under the decategorized services of CETA, and that CETA places no special emphasis on women other than low-income, female household heads.

The reports's recommendations included the following:

1. Future projects should have a more specific target population.
2. Projects should focus on institutional changes, especially in schools, training facilities, unions, etc.
3. Training should be more related to the job market, and women should participate in all manpower programs.
4. Projects should include attention to motivation and goal expectations of women.
5. Projects should coordinate with other agencies to insure that women are being recruited for a wide variety of occupations.
6. Volunteer leadership positions in the project should be filled with influential organization representatives, people who can help the project.
7. All cities should have a women's resource center which would provide a wide variety of job information and which would bring women together for reinforcement.

Unlike MWEP, WAGEES did not simply modify and apply a proven model (RTP) to a new populaion and occupation. It found its own way. Such experiments inevitably have much to learn through trial and error. Often, however, they came upon insights that more experienced models have overlooked. This project developed insights about the use of volunteers, the reluctance of women to seek promotions, the need for consciousness raising, the need to open a wide variety of jobs to women, and above all, in the staff's own estimate, the need to influence established institutions and services.

Some of the errors in this trial-error approach were perhaps that they had minimal personal contact with employers and applicants, and that their activities ranged too broadly.

Women in Apprenticeship

Women in Apprenticeship, a Wisconsin project, aimed less at placement than at the enlightenment of employers about the potentialities of women workers and of educators and women about the potential of skilled jobs.[9] The competition in the job market of veterans, minorities, and young people, however, made the task rather difficult.

During the project, female apprenticeship enrollments held their own, while male enrollments dropped by 1,000, indicating that some relative progress had been made for women. In 1970 in Wisconsin, formal apprenticeship programs existed in 360 occupations, and enrollments included 8,500 males and 393 females (324 in cosmetology, 45 in cooking, and 24 scattered in 8 other occupations).

Among the damaging myths found to exist about women were the following: They are not serious about their jobs; their absenteeism and turnover are high; they don't have mechanical aptitudes; they require costly and elaborate restrooms; they are physically weak and overemotional; their place is in the home. The project sought to dispel these myths. In fact, a high level of employer satisfaction with women apprentices was found, along with a low dropout rate (24 percent, compared with the national estimates of 50 percent for all apprentices).

Employers reported beliefs that some apprenticeships were unsuited to women because the jobs were dirty, noisy, involved lifting, technical skills, etc. Indeed, 45 percent of employers in 1973 claimed these apprentice positions were unsuited to women: Maintenance worker, pressman, foundryman, millwright, mechanic, auto mechanic, machine repairman, tool-diemaker, welder, patternmaker, machinist, TV serviceman, farm equipment mechanic, sign erector, and pipefitter.

Yet the project found that the following percent of plants surveyed employed women in jobs where they worked under dirty, noisy conditions: Dirty, 32 percent of plants; all weather conditions, 12 percent; noisy, 41 percent; messy, 47 percent; hot materials, 12 percent; lifting, 38 percent; irregular hours, 47 percent; precision work, 59 percent; mechanical aptitude, 50 percent; technical ability, 38 percent; mechanical skills and experience, 18 percent. Thus, women not only *could* but *did* work under these conditions.

The project found a number of obstacles to women in apprenticeships, not the least of which was a declining economy at the time and the preferential status being given to veterans. The same outreach and information networks did not exist for women. While 40 percent of male apprentices were referred by relatives or friends, rather few women were referred through this informal network.

High school vocational education was not preparing females to enter skilled trades. The Wisconsin Trade and Industrial Education program was offered in grades 9 to 12 in 103 of Wisconsin's 429 high schools. Female enrollment was 369, or 1.5 percent of the total. Enrollments included only 102 females in drafting (4.1 percent); 5 in electricity (0.2 percent); 125 in graphics (3.9 percent); 68 in woods (1.6 percent); 42 in metals (0.6 percent); 23 in power mechanics (0.5 percent); 4 in aviation (7.4 percent).

The project found it very difficult to interest school counselors or noncollege schoolgirls in apprenticeships. Most

[8]Ibid., p. 32.

[9]Charles Nye and Patricia Mapp, *Women in Apprenticeship — Why Not?* (Madison, Wis.: State of Wisconsin, Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 227727. Also Manpower Research Monograph No. 33 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1974).

women interested in apprenticeship, it was found, were in their thirties or were college graduates in their late twenties. Many of these did not qualify because of the age limit on apprenticeships.

> The great difficulty in knowing how to begin any practical demonstration on a local level was that there was no one clear feeder system to apprenticeship. State and Federal apprenticeship agencies do not recruit and then place individuals, but merely promote the concept of apprenticeship as a training method and formally register and then monitor those contracts that are made between individual employers and employees.
>
> Where a would-be applicant should go, or how he or she should proceed, varied so greatly from trade to trade and from one locality to another that many school and employment counselors were reluctant to encourage youth to consider apprentice training at all . . .[10]

The project distributed information sheets to counselors indicating that one group of trades, mostly in construction, is entered by applying to the Joint Apprenticeship Committee of the trade in that area. Industrial apprenticeships in large plants, by union agreement, are usually open only to workers already employed in the plant. And some industrial and service trade apprenticeships are advertised and can be applied for at the employer's personnel office.

All the government-sponsored manpower training programs contacted by the project (including Job Corps, the Work Incentive Program, and the Employment Service) engaged in "rampant" sex stereotyping. One larger Employment Service office reportedly had specialized interviewers, with men (at separate desks) handling (1) skilled men, (2) unskilled men, and (3) professional men (and women, as nurses, when they came); and women interviewers handling (1) clerical and (2) unskilled jobs for women.

"It has been customary for Employment Service counselors to keep listed job openings in separate file boxes on each desk so that a woman applicant without professional qualifications, or for whom there is no appropriate professional job opening, will be asked if she can type. If she can, she is shunted to 'clerical'; if not, she is offered (from another box) a range of unskilled jobs in retailing, medical, or other service.[11] The counselor does not inform her of opportunities in skilled trades.

Moreover, the one publicly financed outreach program in apprenticeships confined its efforts to minority males, and the WIN staff was found to be "profoundly ignorant of apprenticeships and the skilled trades" and was working to place welfare mothers in low-paid jobs, making it likely that they would continue their welfare dependency.

Futhermore, the "female occupations" are discriminated against by apprenticeship and licensing agencies. The U.S. Bureau of Apprenticeship, according to the report, excludes all occupations in the clerical and retail fields from its list of apprenticeable trades. Medical institutions use a "largely female army of bottom rung workers who cannot (because of degree and licensing requirements) use increased job experience and related training to move up a career ladder comparable to that of the unskilled, semiskilled, and (finally) skilled male apprentice craftsman."[12]

"There appeared to be large numbers of skilled and paraprofessional jobs that fit apprenticeable criteria equally well, most of which fell into the 'traditionally female' employment areas that had been overlooked. Many of these jobs employed thousands of people, yet had no common title. Many can be identified by the 'technician,' 'assistant,' 'aide,' or 'therapist' label attached to them, indicating a skilled midlevel job category between the fully qualified administrator or policy and decisionmaking professional and the unskilled worker of the street."[13]

DOT Ratings

Apprenticeship officials told project staff that many of these female occupations were not skilled or complex enough to be apprenticeable, and for confirmation referred them to the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (DOT) which rates occupations on the basis of skill and complexity.

The DOT, it was found, rates many women's jobs at rock bottom. These low ratings make it difficult for training programs in these occupations to qualify for Federal funds. When the project tried to introduce apprenticeship to the day-care teacher and homemaker, home-health aide occupations, the low DOT ratings of these occupations led officials to conclude there was obviously no skill to be learned in these women's jobs.

It was found that in the DOT there was a cluster of traditionally female jobs, related to mothering and homemaking, which were grossly undervalued for complexity. The lowest skill and complexity ratings possible in these classifications — 878 — were given to all of these occupations:[14]

Foster mother, "rears children in own home as members of family"
Homemaker
Rest room attendant, "serves patrons of lavatories in store"
Kindergartner, "entertains children in nursery"
Child care attendant, "house parent, special school counselor"
Nurse, practical, "cares for patients and children"
Home health aide, "cares for elderly, convalescent or handicapped"
Public bath maid
Nursery school teacher, "organizes and leads activities of prekindergarten children, maintains discipline."

"Parking lot attendant" was given the same skill rating. "Pet shop attendant" (877), "delivery boy" (868), and "strip tease artist" (848) were rated somewhat more skilled than these jobs. "Marine mammal handler" (328), "hotel clerk" (368), "barber" (371), "dog trainer" (228) were all rated as having considerably greater skills.

The far-reaching effects of this project fell into three broad categories:

1. Apprenticeship-Related Changes

   a. Changing apprenticeship job titles to eliminate sex designations and omitting sex references from promotional literature.

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., p. 15.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid., p. 17.
[14] The ratings reflect the level of skills required by the job in dealing with data (first digit), people (second digit), and things (third digit), with 1 representing the highest skill level in each case.

b. Including women in the affirmative action pledge and in the State Plan for Equal Employment Opportunity in Apprenticeship.

c. Instituting the Day Care Teacher and Homemaker Home Health Aide Apprenticeship Programs, providing apprenticeship opportunities for over 100 women.

d. Hiring women and utilizing the apprenticeship method of training women to become members of the once all-male professional Division of Apprenticeship and Training staff.

e. Recommending waivers of collective bargaining agreements so that women could compete for carpentry, painting, and metal engraving apprenticeships.

2. Pre-Apprenticeship Related Changes — Employment Agencies and Educational Institutions

a. Creation of an apprenticeship liaison position in each Employment Service office in the State to bridge the apprenticeship information gap.

b. WIN and Apprenticeship staff exchanges to focus on eliminating sex stereotyping from their agency functions.

c. Removal of sex designations from job titles recognized by the State Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, and used by the Employment Service and WIN.

d. Adopting a State maternity leave ruling that would define childbirth-related absences as a health-related disability, thereby assuring leaves of absence and job reinstatement.

e. Opening of the former Milwaukee Boys' Technical High School to girls and changing the name to Milwaukee Technical High School.

f. Elimination by the State Department of Public Instruction of all sex designations from the Wisconsin Instant Information on Education and Work vocational guidance materials, used in 90 percent of the State's high schools.

3. Women in Employment

a. Supporting the convening of an annual AFL-CIO State Women's Conference, 1970-73.

b. Producing a nationally distributed film, "Never Underestimate the Power of a Woman," aimed at dispelling the myths about women in employment.

c. Initiating the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* review and revision of child care and health-related occupations.

d. Initiating the amendment to Federal legislation, via the Wisconsin congressional delegation, permitting military widows and orphans to use educational benefits for apprenticeship employment.

e. Designing the Intergovernmental Personnel Act Project, under the Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, to investigate hiring and promoting women in the Wisconsin State Civil Service.

f. Proposing the Maternity Leave Project to research costs and benefits to employers of providing insurance benefits for pregnancy and childbirth to women workers.

g. Advocating the creation of women's advocacy positions in the State Department of Personnel and in the Bureau of Community Services, Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations.

This project indicates again how unexpectedly fruitful research and development can be. Because the project's aim of moving women into apprenticeships was made difficult by the recession, numerous other tasks were undertaken, many of them of lasting significance. Most notably perhaps, the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* was subjected to a major revision, aimed at eliminating sexist titles and low ratings of skilled female occupations, as a result of the project's inquiries and probings. (For discussion of the revisions, see chapter 9.) The impact of this and other activties may ultimately be greater than the placement of a few women in apprenticeships, which is not to negate the value of such placements.

Women Offenders

In response to the general neglect of the special needs of women offenders, as well as assertions that crime rates have risen among women, the Employment and Training Administration's Office of Research and Development has turned its attention to women offenders, prisoners, and the employment of ex-offenders.

The criminal justice system, it is said, is run by males and mainly for males, with little concern given women as offenders, victims, prisoners, or employees. Although women criminals tend to be poor and unemployed, few prisons offer meaningful vocational preparation to female inmates, it is said, and few offer women inmates opportunities to see their children.

Statistical Weakness

The figures on rises in crime rates are debatable. The Federal Bureau of Investigation reported that female crime rose 246 percent between 1960 and 1972. On the other hand, it is claimed that women still commit only 10 percent of crimes of violence and that their share of violent crimes has been decreasing. Rising crime during the sixties, it is said, was largely a function of the swollen crime-prone age groups during that period.

It is also said that FBI arrest figures do not control for increased arrests owing to expanded police forces and technology, for changes in the attitudes and handling of women among police, for the increased ability of police to record male and female crimes separately. Of the 6.5 million arrestees in 1970, only 1 in 7 was female. In jail, only 1 in 19 was female. Only 1 in 22 admitted to prison (convicted) was female, and of those in prison on a given day, only 1 in 35 was female, since women serve shorter terms than men.

Programs

An excellent guide to programs for the woman offender is provided by the D.C. Commission on the Status of Women. Its review includes pretrial programs, programs for women in

[15] *The Woman Offender Report*, March/April 1975, p. 1 (Washington: American Bar Association, National Resource Center on Women Offenders).

[16] Virginia A. McArthur, *From Convict to Citizen: Programs for the Woman Offender* (Washington: D.C. Commission on the Status of Women, 1974). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 236170.

jail or prison, transition programs to reintegrate women offenders into the community, and community programs to help them achieve full citizenship.

Recommendations to volunteer groups who want to help women offenders include the following:

1. Get data in the specific community on how many women are arrested, convicted, what sentences they receive, and how they get probation.
2. Study the community's criminal justice system: Where do women go when they are arrested, sentenced, and returned to community life? Attend trials, visit jails, and find out who controls funds and whether they are interested in women prisoners.
3. Meet officials in the criminal justice system; discuss your and their interest in women offenders.
4. Find out what community resources exist for offenders.
5. Ask women offenders what kinds of programs they think would be useful.
6. Develop a tentative program, discuss it with officials, and get their support.

The Work Support Program, originiated by the VERA Institute of Justice, and funded by the Ford Foundation, the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, and the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, has placed offenders, welfare recipients, ex-addicts, juvenile offenders, and others in nonthreatening, almost sheltered, work situations where they might acquire a work history that would then enable them to find jobs. Reportedly, the program had, by its third year, enrolled about 3,000 women, or about one-fourth of all enrollees. Most jobs have come through contract with the city and the State, and provide services the city and State could not otherwise afford. All jobs are newly created, so that other workers are not displaced. Enrollees work in teams, with two or three crews. From these teams they get peer group support which VERA finds works out as well or better than group counseling.

Projects

A review of Manpower Research and Development projects concludes that "ORD has had impressive results from its 'offender program.' "[17] In the course of 10 years it provided information on offenders, developed strategies for behavioral and institutional change, and increased public and business awareness of offender needs.

A few projects, such as Project Fresh Start of the Archdiocese of Detroit, and Project Rejoin of the Villa Loretta School in Peekskill, N.Y., reached women offenders. Project Fresh Start provided job orientation, counseling, job placement, and followup support for women released from the Detroit House of Correction. There was a half-way house for those released. Job orientation was offered in typing, keypunch, food service, and as nurse's aide. The counselor, however, was regarded as the key person in the project.

Project Rejoin offered individual and group counseling, vocational guidance, and vocational training. Training programs were in food service, health services, beauty culture, and business. Each program featured prevocational workups, job instruction methods, basic courses, work orientation, and information on advanced programs and job openings. A remedial program in reading skills was also offered.

One project provided guaranteed employment in the Chase Manhattan Bank for female inmates who received training and/or services from the bank while they were in prison, and followup services after employment.[18] Twenty ex-offenders have been in the program. All were placed in bank jobs in which they were rated, by employers, as generally better in their work than regular hires.

Private Concerns, Inc., which worked on the Chase Manhattan project and is experienced in working with women offenders in nontraditional jobs, recommended the following:[19]

1. Vary vocational educational options in prisons, especially in the state system (New York). Options should apply to the New York City labor market to which most women will return.
2. Involve appropriate unions and employers as consultants to the Departments of Corrections and Correctional Services to ensure that the training is appropriate.
3. Evaluate existing nontraditional female offender programs in Maryland and California, to determine their impact on a male-dominated construction trades market.
4. Provide in-service training to correctional educators, counselors, parole officers, and administrators to ensure appropriate vocational preparation.
5. Maximize education release time, as opposed to in-prison training.
6. By means of a Mutual Agreement Program (MAP, or contract parole), or on a "work-education" release program, allow inmates to purchase relevant training in nontraditional jobs by using vouchers.

The use of vouchers to purchase training outside of prison that is unavailable in most small women's prisons is an innovation which was developed with financial support from the Office of Research and Development. Maryland is the only State implementing the MAP system that uses vouchers for training, although the concept is applicable to many types of programs.

Discrimination

Sexual discrimination, it is said, exists throughout the prison systems of the Nation. Because there are so few female prisons, women are more likely than men to be placed in a prison that is remote from their communities, families, friends. Also, felons and serious offenders are much more likely to be together with less serious offenders in female institutions. Medical, religious, and other services are less available to women, mainly because of the small size of their prisons. Differential treatment is also found in physical sur-

[17] Roberta Rovner-Pieczenik, *The First Decade of Experience: A Synthesis of Manpower R&D Projects in Criminal Justice and Corrections (1963-1973)* (Cambridge, Mass.: Criminal Justice Research, Inc., 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 220081. Also published as Manpower Research Monograph No. 28 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1973).

[18] *Employing Female Ex-Offenders in the Banking and Finance Industry.* Interim report (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, 1975).

[19] Barbara Taylor, "Entry into Nontraditional Occupations for New York's Female Ex-Offender Population." (City of New York, Commission on Human Rights Testimony). Mimeographed report, Apr. 21, 1975.

[20] "Notes: The Sexual Segregation of American Prisons," *Yale Law Review*, May 1973.

roundings, recreational facilities, institutional staff, and rehabilitative, and industrial programs.

In the case of physical surroundings, the discrimination tends to favor women; they have greater privacy, fewer gun towers and fences, and more privileges. But women's prisons have fewer recreational facilities, fewer vocational and educational programs, and fewer and less varied industrial programs.

The Fourteenth Amendment has had little impact on prison sex discrimination, and probably will not lead to significant reform, it is concluded. The possible effect of legal action is not explored, but it is suggested that the Equal Rights Amendment should require that the Nation's prisons be integrated in order to equalize the treatment of men and women.

View from the Bench

Interviews with cirminal court judges and prosecuting attorneys have indicated that women offenders tend to be black, poorly educated, low-income women with several children.[21] They are most often charged with crimes of shoplifting and other theft, drug use, and crimes of passion (as killing a husband or lover). They are usually not the organizers or managers of crime. Most are accomplices who are involved by a boyfriend or husband. They tend to be drug users but rarely pushers. They are not organizers of drug traffic, nor are they connected with organized crime. More than half the judges said they treat women more leniently and gently than they do men, that they more often recommend probation, and that their sentencing is lighter. Only a few said they were less likely to convict. Almost none thought they were seeing more women in court than before, or that the women were different from before, except that more women of all classes were using drugs. Most did not expect to see changes in the future.

Household Employment

Because household workers are so poorly paid, marginal, and untrained, yet in considerable demand, the National Pilot Program for Household Employment, a 2-year demonstration project, was set up to train workers (almost all of them women) and restructure the occupation. The program included eight different projects, each set up in a different location and using a different strategy to upgrade household employment.[22]

Though the projects had no trouble recruiting people, they generally had problems retaining them in the program and placing them. Of the more than 1,200 women who trained, about 800 graduated. Although 70 percent of these were employed at the end of almost 2 years, only about 300 were working in household employment. An assessment of the program concluded that too few women were trained and placed to make any sizable impact, even locally.

It was found, however, that wages and benefits for improved household work can be raised and that properly oriented employers will pay for trained workers. Still, the wages and benefits were not large enough to attract and hold many trainees. Most trainees were middle-aged black women with dependent children, with an average income of less than $3,000 and an average of 10 years' schooling. Sponsorship of the projects was varied and included a university (Kansas State University), a YWCA in Chicago, a Women's Service Club in Boston, four profitmaking agencies, and an organization.

The private sponsors received the largest funding, but they were no more successful than the others, and they were found to have the most questionable commitment to workers and to the occupation. It was concluded that there is little potential for profit in household service that does not exploit workers, and that such projects should not operate on a profit basis.

Most projects thought of upgrading as simply improving skills; very little attention was given to career ladders or restructuring of occupations — perhaps a defensible approach because most placements were in private residences. A subsequent project tried to set up a career ladder for hotel housekeeping workers, but once the funding stopped, the hotels would not put their own money into the training, despite vigorous promotion by the trade association.[23]

Several of the projects found they could not meet their placement quotas because of uncooperative State Employment Service offices and the level of training allowances offered workers. Many women did not accept job offers because of the low pay.

Most projects found that the ability to relate to women and to be flexible were more important qualities in staff members than were their formal education and training. The lack of child-care facilities was also found to be a problem for women with young children.

An evaluation recommended that at least 4 or 5 weeks be allowed to train women for household work — 8 weeks if the women are extremely disadvantaged. Other recommendations included the establishment of programs at community colleges to upgrade the skills and the status of household workers, as well as the establishment of interested groups to plan and press for legislation to benefit household workers.

An ideal program, it was concluded, must have at least these features: (1) A choice of jobs within the occupation; (2) a potential for advancement; and (3) the option of fuller part-time employment.

Two projects (Boston and New York) helped to create community support for State legislation to extend coverage of the minimum wage law to household workers. The Kansas project was able to change the whole climate of opinion in the State about homemaker services, and most projects gained impressive community support. Chicago developed "The

[21] R. J. Simon, *The Contemporary Woman and Crime* (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Mental Health, 1975).

[22] *National Pilot Program on Household Employment: Final Report of the Experimental and Demonstration Projects, March 15, 1968 — December 31, 1970* (Washington: National Committee on Household Employment, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 203790. For an assessment of the projects, see *National Pilot Program on Household Employment* and *Three on a Single Theme* (Annandale, Va.: M. K. Trimble Associates, Inc., 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 199476 and PB 199134, respectively.

[23] Richard M. Landmark, *Research Demonstration Program for Training and Career Ladder Development for Housekeepers in the Lodging and Public Health Industries* (Washington: Council on Hotel, Restaurant and Institutional Education, 1975). ETA-ORD.

Manual for Employers of Household Workers" which could be usefully circulated to employers nationally, it was concluded.

Although the projects failed to reach their ultimate goals, "all have been a catalyst in the formation of a national movement. They have laid the groundwork for future action." What the project demonstrates, then, is the need for organization and legislative action among household (and other unskilled) workers. The projects enabled the National Committee on Household Employment to organize and continue functioning on behalf of household workers. Its achievements included coverage of household workers under minimum wage legislation.

Health Careers

A project with union collaboration sought to demonstrate the feasibility of upgrading nurse's aides to licensed practical nurses through a work-study program in the New York hospital system.[24] Ninety-one percent of the candidates, including many who scored below cutoff points on tests, graduated from a 14-month course, passed the State Board examinations, and returned to their hospitals as LPN's. The project's success reportedly had a significant impact on how training programs are organized, providing even greater opportunity for nurse's aides to become licensed practical nurses, and for LPN's to become registered nurses.

The New Health Occupations Program of Mobilization for Youth in New York City has worked with hospitals and medical centers to restructure and improve health services by establishing a new career, the social health technician, who is trained to deliver a range of health services.[25] Sixty undereducated, low-income adults enrolled at 14-week intervals in the 40-week training course; 68 percent completed the program successfully and accepted jobs related to their training.

The project learned that nontraditional methods of selecting applicants for skilled work requiring initiative and judgment are better than traditional ones. It also learned that before developing a training program, employers must specify the functions of technicians and assure graduates specific jobs, salaries, and promotional opportunities. In connection with this project, means of making postsecondary education available to new careerists were also explored.[26]

[24] *Toward a Career Ladder in Nursing: Upgrading Nurse's Aides to Licensed Practical Nurses, Through a Work-Study Program* (New York: Medical and Health Research Association of New York City, Inc., 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 199441.

[25] Anita S. Vogel, *Establishing a New Career: The Social Health Technician* (New York: Mobilization for Youth, Inc., 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 199118. Also published as R&D Findings No. 11 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1971).

[26] *New Careers: Making Postsecondary Education More Accessible to New Careerists (A Conference Report)* (New York: Mobilization for Youth, Inc., 1968). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 201723.

Group Supports for Black Girls

Two projects, one in New York City and one in Memphis, aimed at providing role models and group supports for young minority girls.[27] The New York project worked with older girls who were school dropouts. The Memphis project worked with junior high school girls and was aimed at keeping them in school. In Memphis, girls were employed 8 hours a week as day-care assistants, and met for 1 hour a week with a group leader to discuss their work experiences. The role model provided by the group leader has reportedly been effective in providing examples and counsel to girls.

Day-Care Centers

A day-care center, established and funded by the Department of Labor as a service to its employees and as a demonstration that such services can be provided at reasonable cost, has not been evaluated completely.[28] Despite a waiting list approximating 50 percent of enrollment, the difficulties the center has had in staying afloat clearly illustrate the pervasive problems involved in setting up, achieving consensus or even agreement on, and maintaining such centers.

A program model for day-care services in the inner city was developed by the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, and it has been adopted in at least one neighborhood.[29] "This program is designed to provide a comprehensive child care program on a neighborhood basis serving the residents of the immediate neighborhood in small groups, utilizing neighborhood facilities, thus avoiding the high costs and long delays involved in the renovation or construction of major buildings."[30]

The model features small rather than large centers (even though costs are higher), a community rather than a private model, a staff of human service workers with links to the community, a parent education program, continuing education, and career opportunities for staff.

[27] Information for Memphis was derived exclusively from discussions with staff. For an account of the New York project, see *Improving Employment Possibilities for Black Female Teenagers in New York City* (New York: Metropolitan Applied Research Center, Inc., 1976). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 255778/AS.

[28] For interim evaluations, see *An Experiment in Employer Sponsored Day Care and Child Day Care Demonstration Project for Children of Department of Labor Employees* (Washington: A. L. Nellum and Associates, 1970 and 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 198985 and PB 221288, respectively.

[29] *Neighborhood-Based Child Care Services for the Inner City* (Chicago: Illinois Bureau of Employment Security, Human Services Manpower Career Center, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 209208.

[30] Ibid., p. 14.

7. WIN, WORK, AND WELFARE

Women participate in virtually all federally sponsored manpower programs, as will be seen in chapter 8. The Work Incentive program, or WIN, is selected for special treatment for these reasons: (1) About three in four participants are women; (2) it is one of the largest, fastest growing, and most heavily funded manpower programs; and (3) it serves recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), a group of women who have an unusually pressing need and desire for jobs.

As background for a survey of research and evaluation, the growth of welfare rolls and the development of the WIN program are outlined. The survey then examines the benefits of WIN for women, of a noneconomic nature as well as in employment training, and supportive services. Next come findings about how women feel toward work in general as well as WIN jobs, and welfare. Finally, alternative approaches to reducing welfare dependency are explored.

The Growth of Welfare Programs

The size of the welfare population grew rapidly during the sixties. In 1960, the portion of the poverty population receiving welfare was 17.8 percent; by 1970 it was 54.8 percent.[1] In 1960, 5.2 million people were on welfare; by 1970, the number had risen to 12.5 million.[2] In 1960 spending on Aid for Dependent Children (AFDC), the largest of the welfare programs, was nearly $1 billion, with 803,000 families receiving assistance. By 1969, this had risen to $3.6 billion, with 1,876,000 families receiving assistance.

Households with female heads also increased during the sixties. In 1960, 21.7 percent of all black families were headed by women. By 1970, the figure had risen to 28.3 percent. The change was much smaller for the white population — from 8.7 percent to 9.1 percent.

About half of all AFDC families are white. Only a third of the caseload in 1973 lived in central cities of 4000,000 or more. There is indication that lower levels of AFDC assistance in the South have contributed to the large migration to the non-South in the last three decades.[2]

In 1965, the United States spent about $10 billion on income transfer programs. To bring up the incomes of all families below the poverty line to that level, would have required another $12 billion.[2] And if people below the poverty line had withdrawn from the labor force to receive these transfers, the sum would have been $37 billion.

During the sixties, the average payment in AFDC cases rose 40.8 percent, while the average wage in manufacturing rose only 27.8 percent. "This increased work disincentive may account for the increase in the proportion of families headed by females as well because the largest welfare program, and the one in which potential recipients can make themselves eligible with the least cost (AFDC) provides assistance" only to one-parent families in most States. In other words, "there is a built-in incentive in public assistance for family disintegration."[3]

Moreover, "estimation results based on data drawn from the AFDC program confirm the hypothesis that the level of welfare income relative to earnings is a significant determinant of the proportion of the population receiving welfare assistance for both the white and black populations."[4]

Although economic conditions (as measured by unemployment rates) significantly influence AFDC caseloads among white females, there is no evidence that they influence AFDC participation of black females. "Improvements in market demand conditions therefore are not likely to lead to reductions in the AFDC recipient rate for the black population.[5]

WIN (Work Incentive Program)

WIN was created by the Congress in 1967 in response to rapid increases in AFDC recipients, to provide job training, job placement, and supportive services for employable AFDC recipients, both male and female. The program's purpose was to enable them to increase their earnings and perhaps become independent of welfare.

In 1971 two major policy changes were made in the program, which, as amended, became known as WIN II. First, participation of all nonexempt women became mandatory (participation was mandatory for men in both WIN I and WIN II). Second, the new focus of the program was on jobs rather than training.

In WIN I, the preparation time in the Employability Development component was reportedly too prolonged. The Intensive Manpower Services that took its place is staff-intensive, deals with participants in groups, putting them through 8-hour sessions where they mainly learn job-finding skills through role playing, filling out applications, etc.

Participants are given allowances to help cover the costs of participation. Those who take jobs also get income disregards; that is, the formula for determining whether they can continue

[1] Bruno Stein, "Poverty and the Present Welfare System." Paper presented at a UCLA Conference, September 29, 1972.

[2] Marjorie Hanson Honig, *The Impact of the Welfare System on Labor Supply and Family Stability: A Study of Female Heads of Families* (New York: Columbia University, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 201127.

[3] Ibid., pp. 5-6.

[4] Ibid., p. 14.

[5] Ibid.

on AFDC disregards the first $30 of their monthly earnings, plus a third of the remainder. Participants also receive supportive services, supplied mainly by welfare agencies, which may include family planning and family counseling, medical examinations, remedial medical service, rehabilitation, home management, transportation, and child care.

When suitable work is available, participants are placed in jobs. When it is not immediately available, or when training is needed, they may be assigned to other WIN program components. These include on-the-job training, public service employment, work experience, academic and skill training in the classroom, and referral to other programs for training. WIN II has stressed unsubsidized work first, and, failing that, assignment to either on-the-job training or public service employment.

Both registrations and job placements rose sharply under WIN II. In fiscal year 1974, over 820,000 new applicants registered in WIN.[6] Of these, almost 178,000 took unsubsidized jobs and, by the end of the year, had held these jobs at least 90 days (see table 7).

TABLE 7. Types of WIN Jobs, by Sex, Fiscal Year 1974
[Percentage distribution]

Occupation	Both sexes	Male	Female
All occupations: Number	177,271	59,563	117,708
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Professional, technical and managerial	4.9	3.0	5.8
Clerical and sales	20.9	7.8	27.4
Service	28.3	16.3	34.4
Farming, fisheries and forestry	3.8	9.2	1.0
Processing	4.6	6.2	3.8
Machine trades	6.6	11.7	4.1
Beach work	12.1	6.4	15.0
Structural work	6.7	16.8	1.5
Miscellaneous	12.2	22.7	6.9

Source: *The Work Incentive Program*, p. 34.

Almost 52,000 of the jobholders not only held a job for at least 90 days, but earned enough to "deregister," that is, to be removed from the welfare rolls. Those most likely to deregister were male Caucasians, ages 23 to 39. While women were 75 percent of the WIN registrants, they were only 49 percent of those who deregistered (see table 8).

[6]A registered applicant becomes a participant only after arrangements can be made for any supportive services (child care, for example) that may be necessary to enable the applicant to accept employment or training or after it has been determined that no supportive services are needed.

Data on fiscal year 1974 for WIN II are derived from *The Work Incentive Program. Fifth Annual Report to the Congress* (Washington: U.S. Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare, 1975). Summary data for fiscal 1975 appear in the *Employment and Training Report of the President, 1976* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1976).

TABLE 8. WIN Registrants and Participants, by Sex, Fiscal Year 1974
[Percentage distribution]

Status	Both sexes	Male	Female
Registered	100	25	75
Participated[1]	100	28	72
Entered unsubsidized job	100	31	69
Completed job entry period (held job at least 90 days)	100	28	72
Deregistered (left welfare)	100	51	49

[1]See text footnote 6.
Source: *The Work Incentive Program*, p. 30.

White participants were far more likely to deregister than blacks. Whites were 54 percent of WIN registrants but 71 percent of those who deregistered. Blacks were 42 percent of registrants but only 26 percent of those who deregistered. Very few comparative data are available on the experiences of black and white women in the program.

The wage rates of men who found jobs were significantly higher than those of women. More than twice as many men as women received a wage that could significantly affect their welfare status: 72 percent of men and only 34 percent of women who took jobs were paid $2.20 or more an hour (see table 9). Women worked mainly in low-paying jobs such as clerical, sales, services, benchwork. Because of the low wages paid women, special attention is being given in the program of employment of women in nontraditional jobs where earnings are higher.

TABLE 9. WIN Hourly Wage Rates, by Sex, Fiscal Year 1974

	Total		Sex (Percent)	
Hourly wage rate	Number	Percent	Male	Female
All rates: Number	177,271	—	64,315	112,956
Percent	—	100.0	100.0	100.0
Under $1.60	7,921	4.5	1.5	6.2
1.60 - 2.19	84,681	47.8	26.9	59.7
2.20 - 2.79	44,662	25.2	30.4	22.2
2.80 - 3.39	21,513	12.1	20.1	7.6
3.40 & over	18,494	10.4	21.1	4.3
Average		$2.40	$2.79	$2.18

Source: *The Work Incentive Program*, p. 32.

The women's lower wages hamper their efforts to leave welfare in another way, because some of them cannot stretch their meager earnings to cover child care if they need it. They thus continue to be eligible for WIN services, as well as part of

[7]*Employment and Training Report of the President, 1976* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1976), p. 117.

their welfare grant. In fiscal 1974, about 122,000 families, predominantly headed by females and including some employed women, were provided child care in their own homes, in family day-care homes, or in day-care centers.

No women with children under age 6 are required to take part in the program. One of the major reported needs is for mandatory inclusion in the program of young mothers, ages 14 to 18, who should get back into school, if care for their children were less expensive.

In any case, WIN II, even in labor surplus markets, has been able to find jobs for participants. WIN does its own placement, but it often deals with the secondary labor market, which is not competitive with the primary, so placement is easier.

upgrading of low-wage workers. Low-wage people, it is said, are a bigger problem than the unemployed, but little is known about them. Forty percent of WIN participants work some part of the week, but their earnings provide less than their needs require. Research is also reportedly needed on what happens to participants and low-wage workers during rising unemployment.

Definitive research on the impact of WIN on welfare dependency is lacking. Statistics for the first 2 years of WIN II, however, indicated that, while over 1.6 million welfare recipients were newly registered for WIN, only 104,000 of these were removed from welfare.[7] Nearly 128,000 others had become at least partially self-supporting, however, and some of these, as well as the nearly 300,000 who were taking some form of training, may eventually succeed in leaving welfare.

Contacts are first made by letter of introduction leading to an interview. In the interview the services the program provides to employers by helping to recruit and screen applicants are emphasized. Employers are shown that the program is aware of employer needs (having been researched prior to the interview), and that the program is able to offer individual attention to those needs. Employers are asked to notify the program when suitable vacancies occur.

MWEP does not adopt a hostile stance with employers, although it often acts as an advocate for qualified referrals. The program has found certain industries less receptive than others; least receptive are the banking and oil industries. Probably the most successful outreach to business has been through referrals by business contacts with whom the program has a good relationship.

Counseling

In its tutoring and workshop sessions, the program takes women whose job performance is likely to meet employer requirements, and helps them to develop the personal qualities that employers seek. Preparing and screening applicants involves career counseling, résumé writing, preparation for the job interview, test tutoring, general support and encouragement, and followup of referrals.

In the initial interview, gaining the applicant's trust and confidence is stressed. Role playing is often used to acquaint applicants with employer interview practices. Applicants tend to be passive in interviews, to respond to questions briefly, and rarely to raise questions themselves. The applicant is shown, through role playing, how to be more engaging during this interview, and how to be assertive without being aggressive. Applicants are taught to verbalize their career goals because many employers give special attention to this.

Applicants are also counseled on grooming, dress, and interview posture. Once the applicant's trust is gained, she is usually receptive to such counseling.

Counseling also involves participation in seminars with employers, where an orientation is provided to occupations that are new to the applicants, and where employers become better acquainted with the abilities of minority women.

Emphasis is placed on personal relations, support, encouragement of applicants, especially those lacking in confidence. Confidence levels of applicants, according to staff, is very low. "By the time they come to MWEP they have been rejected 10 times or so. They are down, exposed to teaching, preaching, social work, but nothing works for them." The self-concept of Hispanic women suffers it is said, because of the traditional role of Hispanic women in their culture.

The program also offers applicants experience with test-taking principles. Applicants so trained have performed so well on the tests that they have often been suspected of cheating in order to raise their scores high.

Research and Evaluation

Benefits of the WIN Program

While WIN I has been replaced by WIN II, the time lag in research and evaluation means that most currently available studies of the program concern WIN I. For example, all of the WIN research reviewed in the most comprehensive study of the impact of Federal manpower programs on women (completed in 1975) was related to the first WIN program.[8] Furthermore, the study found that while WIN had not suffered from evaluative neglect, only a few studies contained suitable evaluative data on the program's impact on women (9 of the 35 studies and the "host of supplementary material available for review"). Nevertheless, many of the studies are worth reviewing; the program has had a ripple effect far beyond its direct impact on training and employment.

Noneconomic Benefits. "WIN's noneconomic impact has not been satisfactorily quantified to determine what benefits accrued to minorities and women. Still, there was a fair amount of descriptive material available which strongly suggested that there were significant noneconomic benefits to enrollees in terms of their work aspirations and use of supportive services."[9]

A study of the resocialization process in WIN training found that "WIN trained mothers are modernized, activistic and socially mobile," compared with other low-income working mothers.[10]

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[7]Charles R. Perry et al., *Impact of Manpower Training Programs in General and on Minorities and Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 258001/AS.

[8]Ibid., p. 396.

[9]Samuel J. Klausner et al., *The Work Incentive (WIN) Program: Making Adults Economically Independent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, Vol. 1, PB 220204; and vol. 2, PB 222205, p. xi.

"Low-income women workers, projected into the job market through the usual economic mechanisms, tend to occupy traditional service occupations. WIN participants move from welfare to work through a politically based agency — and are more likely to become 'politicized,' that is, actively oriented to shaping their environment and advancing themselves socially in the process."[11] Furthermore, WIN participants aspire to social mobility for themselves and for their children, are active and extroverted personalities and are oriented positively to the world of work. These indicators of modernizing, it was concluded, are more significiant than purely economic considerations in motivating participants.

Certainly, not all of the progress in the resocialization of women participating in WIN can be attributed to the program itself, however. A study of low-income "liberated women," those who felt more in control of their lives and were more work oriented, found that education was the most important factor in separating out the liberated women from the nonliberated. The liberated women were also found to be younger; more likely to be Catholic, to have better health, and to be working; more satisfied with life; more participant in the community. Liberation was not associated with variations in income among these low-income women.[12]

Noneconomic benefits of WIN training were also noted: "Our respondents were very appreciative of having had this opportunity and thought it was a major influence in improving many aspects of their lives. Its importance in creating a better self-image was particularly cited."[13]

Benefits to families from the employment of WIN mothers were found to include the following:[14]

1. Working mothers thought their children respected them more for working.
2. The women themselves had more self-esteem.
3. Women were interested in getting more education and training as a result of their WIN experience.
4. Women reported fewer physical illnesses.
5. Working mothers generally had a more effective home life and self-concept than nonworking mothers.

Working mothers also reported, however, that caring for sick children was more difficult when they were working, and that their marriages were less satisfying than were those of nonworking women. The researchers recommended that information or training be offered these working mothers to increase their skill in home care and home-related problems.

Employment. As noted earlier, women in the WIN II program have been placed in jobs less frequently than their male counterparts and almost invariably at lower wages. This was true of WIN I as well.

Thus, the comprehensive review of the impact of manpower programs[15] found that, in WIN I, job placement rates in 1970 were considerably lower for women (18 percent) than for men (24 percent). There was almost no difference between the placement rates of white and black females.

Furthermore, the review cited considerable evidence that the wages of women who found employment after participating in the WIN I program rose by a larger percentage than those of the men participants.[16] Nevertheless, the wages of women were still well below those of the men, and often below the poverty level.

A study of Camden, N.J., WIN mothers found a shift from service to industrial labor that represented an upgrading of skill levels, as well as wages, and, most significantly, of chances for advancement.[17]

Another study found a much higher proportion of women's post-WIN jobs than their pre-WIN jobs in the technical and managerial occupations.[18]

On balance, the review concluded, "pre- and post-training earnings and employment data indicated that WIN participation had a beneficial impact upon enrollees, approximately 40 percent of whom were black and 60 percent were female. It was clear that females benefited from WIN more than males, but no such conclusions could be made concerning the differential impact by race."[19]

The conclusion that women benefited more than men in earnings and employment needs further examination. What appear to be superior gains for women become less clearcut when it is recalled that a much higher proportion of men who registered in the program were able to leave welfare after placement. Furthermore, until comparisons can be made for men and women of the same age, of their education, and of whether and how they found jobs, it is premature to say even that the women in WIN got a "fair shake," and much less, that they benefited more than men.

Attributes of successful job finders. Older WIN participants were found to be more successful in getting jobs than younger ones. Education and prior work experience were also related to success. In general, attitudes did not affect success.[20]

Another study found that the most important factors determining employment of welfare mothers were race, emigration from the South, being a young mother, being a "deserted" mother.[21]

Sources of jobs. Interviews in 16 cities found that the Employment Service was a source of comparatively high-paying jobs for women but of comparatively low-paying jobs for men. The reverse was true of want ads. Private employment agencies, which are not used much by WIN terminees, also offered comparatively low-paying jobs for women. Although the Employment Service had a relatively good payoff for WIN women, both in placement and quality of job, both women and men tended to prefer other ways of searching for jobs,

[11]G. M. Smith, *Job Training for Welfare Mothers — The WIN Program* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers, The State University, 1972), pp. xi-xii.

[12]Harold Feldman and Margaret Feldman, *Effect of Welfare Women's Working on Their Family: The Welfare Mother* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS. *Findings and Implications*, vol. 1, PB 209019; *Tables and Appendices*, vol. 2, PB 209020.

[13]A. D. Smith et al., "WIN, Work, and Welfare," *Social Service Review*, September 1975, p. 8.

[14]Harold Feldman and Margaret Feldman, op. cit.

[15]Perry et al., op. cit.

[16]See, for example, *Incomplete Study Prepared for the Manpower Administration* (Analytic Systems, Inc., Vienna, Va., 1972) and *An Impact Evaluation of the Work Incentive Program, Final Report* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Auerbach Associates, Inc., 1972).

[17]Samuel Z. Klausner et al., op. cit.

[18]G. M. Smith, op. cit.

[19]Perry et al., op. cit., p. 396.

[20]Klausner et al., op. cit.

[21]G. M. Smith, op. cit.

especially self-placement and personal contacts through friends and relatives.[22]

However WIN women get their jobs, further attention to the earnings gap between male and female placements is clearly needed — to upgrade women's placements and prevent their quitting because they need a living wage. Although WIN has tried, and is trying, to develop apprenticeship and other nontraditional placements for women, other opportunities in the primary labor market or the public sector may be available, currently or in the future.

WIN placements have been mainly in the secondary labor market. Relatively high placement rates, even during serious recessions, demonstrate that jobs are available — jobs which are an acceptable alternative to unemployment for large numbers of people, however unacceptable they may be to others. At the same time, consideration should be given to participants whose employment needs do not fit available jobs. An experimental approach can sometimes develop suitable jobs, as the following illustration suggests.

Adapting jobs. One project sought to encourage employers to set up flexible schedules of work for welfare mothers.[23] The project contacted 124 firms in the San Fernando Valley of California. It found that 43 offered flexible schedules, and 34 others expressed a willingness to offer them. Firms required considerable time to rearrange schedules, especially the larger firms whose patterns were fixed over time.

Most of the firms agreed to placement of welfare mothers in established part-time jobs, but most were unwilling to convert full-time into part-time jobs. One company, however, reorganized a full-time assembly line to accept six women from the WIN program on a 5-hour day, 5 days a week, which allowed mothers to be with their children after school. This company regarded the experiment as successful and wanted to extend it.

Most employers, especially those seeking low-wage workers, rated the women as reliable, motivated, and highly productive. Firms were also interested in satisfying their need to hire minority workers. In general, the 20 percent tax credit for employment of welfare clients was a negligible inducement to hiring them. In many cases, employers were ineligible for the credit because the women did not stay on the job longer than 6 months.

Applicants for the jobs were not "creamed." Some required preemployment preparation, and many required on-the-job training. The provision of such training was not resisted by employers, despite the cost involved. It was recommended that such training be a feature of future programs.

The researcher also found that many women needed a problem-solving support system, preferably in a group of 8 to 10 women, with professional leaders to help them work out problems and gain confidence. Such support is especially needed in the interval between applying for the job and starting work.

Training and Education. The emphasis on training in WIN I seemed to assure that many women would obtain better jobs than they had held before.[24] Indeed, data from a study of the New York State Workfare program (with requirements resembling those of WIN II) "strongly suggest that the availability of on-the-job training is the single most important correlate of job survival and/or success, particularly with female welfare recipients. In the absence of on-the-job training, a relatively high wage rate ($2.30 per hour or more) was also associated with successful employment outcomes for both male and female workers."[25]

Women who were placed in jobs spent more time in WIN training than did women who were not placed. The same was true for men, but less so. Placed females spent 44.1 weeks in the program, and "all females" spent only 32.6 weeks.[26]

"These data were supported by other evaluations, which led most investigators to conclude that females, as a group, were more dependent on training in order to obtain jobs than males. The reasons given for females' greater dependence on training were their well-known barriers to employment: lack of employment experience, sex discimination, and family responsibilities.. These barriers were especially great for AFDC mothers."[27]

Women's greater dependence on training was said, in another study, to be the main reason why they were less likely than men to drop out of WIN.[28] Eighty-two percent of enrollees believed the education component was "very important" to obtaining employment and 82 percent preferred that it not be changed or eliminated.

Other WIN Services

One evaluator found that projects with better supportive services did not demonstrate higher completion rates and showed only somewhat higher job placement rates.[29] The availability of child care, the most commonly needed service, was more likely to determine who got into WIN than who completed it.[30] WIN mothers were found to prefer informal in-home care to closely supervised day-care centers.[31]

[22] Bradley R. Schiller, *The Pay-Off to Job Search: The Experience of WIN Terminees* (Berkeley, Calif.: Pacific Training and Technical Assistance Corporation, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 246743/AS.

[23] David S. Franklin, *Flexible Work Schedules and Welfare Mothers' Employment* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 248843/AS.

[24] A. D. Smith et al., op. cit.

[25] Hrach Bedrosian and Daniel E. Diamond, *The Impact of the New York Workfare Program on Employable Welfare Recipients* (New York: New York University, 1975). ETA-ORD.

[26] *Analysis of WIN Program Automated Termination Data* (Analytic Systems, Inc., Vienna, Va., 1970).

[27] Perry et al., op. cit., p. 369.

[28] David S. Franklin, *A Longitudinal Study of WIN Dropouts: Program and Policy Implications* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 212033.

[29] Bradley R. Schiller, *Welfare Reform: A Synthesis of Research on the WIN Program* (College Park, Md.: University of Maryland, 1973). Based in part on his study, *The Impact of Urban WIN Programs* (Berkeley, Calif.: Pacific Training and Technical Assistance Corp., 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 210469.

[30] Ibid., and *Evaluation of Supportive Services Provided for Participants of Manpower Porgrams — Final Report* (Philadelphia: Camil Associates, Inc., 1972).

[31] William J. Reid, *Decisionmaking in the WIN Program* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1972). ETA-ORD.

"Massive and compulsory child care programs will have only limited impact on employment and may arouse hostile reactions: Such institutions are not flexible enough for employment demands and are perceived to be less adequate than home care by the majority of mothers (and husbands)."[32]

A study of welfare women recommended that WIN enrollees should have more options about the care of the preschool children.[33] Day-care centers should adjust their hours to the needs of women, make provision for the care of sick children, take the mother's preferences about programs into account. Family day care, the report notes, needs more intellectual stimulation. Training of family care mothers should be undertaken, and those people who are voluntarily selected for child care should be studied so that they, or others like them, can be trained as professionals or paraprofessionals.

One evaluator found that medical services were insufficient, and that thousands of enrollees were unsuited for work because of health problems.[34] A study of health and nutrition among low-income upstate New York women found that illness (headaches, nervousness, tiredness, and obesity) were common among nonworking, impoverished women.[35]

Special Problems of Rural WIN

Much of what has been said does not apply fully to women in the WIN program in rural areas, where there is sparse population, lack of transportation, limited industrial development, and absence of facilities for skill training. At the same time, one study found that most rural enrollees have little or no work history when they enter the program.[36] Women enrollees typically have become mothers at an early age and have never worked outside the home. Yet they need work experience more than males to qualify for available jobs.

Hence, it is scarcely surprising that women in rural areas want job training; they should have more opportunities to participate in WIN. It has been suggested they either be transported to the cities where programs are available, or be offered the program in module form near their homes, assuming adequate facilities can be found.

The rural WIN enrollee is, however, very reluctant to leave the home community after completing WIN.[37] Thus, the local labor market mainly determines the success of WIN graduates. WIN's most effective function, it was found, is to select individuals from among its registrants whom local employers will accept to fill the few available job or training vacancies they have. The key to the rural program's success is its ability to select good enrollees. Job development is the most critical of the program's acrivities.

Rural employers tend to believe strongly that people on welfare have poor potential as employees. Males of the over 500 WIN enrollees followed for a year were more likely to find jobs than females. (Further, the researchers observed that a "very limited number of welfare mothers who want to work and who could be placed on jobs" could find jobs if formal child care were made available.) Of those enrollees who found jobs, 83 percent of the males, but only 36 percent of the females earned $2 or more an hour.

Another study found that, for rural women, the formal, job-finding agencies were apparently not as successful in finding jobs as were the women themselves, who often used the help of friends and relatives.[38] It was suggested that these informal channels of job search be studied and perhaps incorporated into the program.

Lack of public transportation affects every aspect of rural WIN. In fact, it has been said that transportation is the major problem of rural WIN participants.[39]

The most comprehensive study of rural WIN found minimal effect of other WIN components on employment. However, the report concluded, the 12-month followup was too short to evaluate the effect of Adult Basic Education and the longer Vocational Training Courses.[40]

Women's Reactions to WIN, Work, and Welfare

Researchers consistently have found that attitudes are not a significant barrier to the employment of WIN women.

Contrary to popular opinion, a study of welfare dependency in four counties found that "only a relatively small proportion of the women had welfare histories compatible with the popular image of lifelong or even chronically long-term welfare dependency, let alone generation-to-generation welfare dependency."[41]

Poor health and low educational attainment were critically important in accounting for the duration of time spent on welfare. Among those with 10 or more years of continuous welfare dependency, 50 percent reported that their personal health was a problem.

"The data did not support the argument that longer periods of time on public assistance have an adverse effect on the attitudes of welfare mothers. In general, the respondents did not seem to possess the overwhelmingly debilitated attitudinal characteristics often attributed to the welfare poor."[42] Only 7 percent reported completely negative attitudes toward work. Only 11 percent reported no feelings of personal competence.

Compared with the ex-welfare respondents, however, those on welfare indicated greater acceptance of government income support, reported more unhappiness, and reflected more feelings of social powerlessness.

Another study, covering WIN participants, reached the following conclusions:

[32] Schiller, op. cit., p. 14.

[33] Harold Feldman and Margaret Feldman, op. cit.

[34] *WIN Systems Analysis: Final Report and WIN Model* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Auerbach Associates, 1971).

[35] Daphne A. Roe and Kathleen R. Eickwork, *Health and Nutritional Status of Working and Nonworking Mothers in Poverty Groups* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, 1973). ETA-ORD -NTIS, PB 226821.

[36] William F. Henry, Guy H. Miles and Joseph M. Reid, *The WIN Program in Rural Areas: Recommendations* (Minneapolis: North Star Research and Development Institute, 1973). ETA-ORD.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Feldman, op. cit.

[39] *An Appraisal of the Work Incentive Program* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Auerbach Associates, Inc., 1970).

[40] Henry, Miles, and Reid, op. cit.

[41] Thomas D. Joyce, "An Exploratory Study of the Relationships Between Welfare Dependency and the Attitudinal Characteristics of Welfare Mothers." Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, August 1973, p. 251.

[42] Ibid., p. 260.

Our data lend unquestionable support to the view of the poor as work-oriented and upwardly mobile. Our respondents consistently indicated that obtaining job skills and employment were not only very important goals but were vital to their self-esteem. The most valued WIN experience, according to our respondents, was obtaining better preparation for jobs, and the most crucial factor affecting the quality of their lives was being employed.[43]

Most studies of the poor have found that they have the same desire to work as others, and that they tend to associate work with self-respect in the same way others do. The implication of this research is that time spent trying to motivate them to work is wasted.[44] Indeed, as one researcher put it after analyzing data from 6,000 women in WIN, working at low-wage jobs, or on public assistance, the incentive that gets low-income people to work is experience with work.[45]

A review of incentives and disincentives to participation in three cities (Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland) found that career aspirations were the major incentive to participation.[46] In this sense, apparently, attitudes were important. Although 86 percent of respondents said that getting a job through WIN was important, 70 percent said that some jobs were unacceptable to them, such as low-level service jobs. Enrollees wanted skilled jobs with wages that would enable them to live well above the welfare standard.

Their wage expectations were not unreasonable, however, the median income expected being slightly over $7,000. "Despite these modest aspirations, we believe that few enrollees will attain them — if the findings from our terminee sample are any indication."[47] New enrollees, mainly in WIN II, had lower aspirations.

As for motives to leave welfare, men most often cited a desire for higher earnings and women the desire for independence of welfare restrictions.

Child care was not a major disincentive. Seventy percent of families used relatives to care for children. Only 15 percent using child-care services were dissatisfied with them. Those with child-care problems were less likely to find jobs than those without them.

Health also was not a major disincentive. Three in four respondents said they were in good health. Transportation problems were more often a disincentive than health or child-care problems.

Those who volunteered for WIN had more positive responses to the program than those who thought participation was mandatory. Those who thought it mandatory were more likely to stay in the program, but less likely to have a job after participation.

"The most positive responses were found when staff were encouraging and when the training program was satisfying. The latter was more important for women than men."[48]

Most enrollees participated in the program at a financial sacrifice, so that payments in the program were not an incentive. "The incentive which affects the enrollee's entrance into the program the most is undoubtedly the desire for job upgrading. Immediately consequent to this is his or her desire (with women emphasizing this most strongly) for training," especially for a specific career goal.[49]

"Major disincentives include the mandatory features of the program (for those who perceive it this way), the inadequacy of expense payments, and child-care, health, and transportation problems for those who have these."[50]

Toward Economic Independence

Any consideration of WIN, work, and welfare ultimately comes full circle to a long-term objective of the 1967 legislation that created the WIN program — the reduction of welfare dependency. Yet, the comprehensive review of the impact of manpower programs (cited repeatedly in this section) found that "The evaluative literature rarely addressed itself to the question of welfare savings, but what limited evidence exists suggested that WIN resulted in little or no reduction in welfare dependency."[51] Failing such assessment, the question is: What does the research say about whether the WIN program has achieved its more immediate goals of providing training and employment for welfare recipients and the broader issue of whether there is a workable employment alternative to welfare?

Training vs. Placement. One researcher made the following comparisons between WIN I and WIN II:

> Under WIN I the means to achieve this end (economic independence) emphasized remedial education, extensive training, and career advancement. This relatively radical strategy was replaced by a more conservative strategy under WIN II, with a shift in emphasis toward minimal training and early job placement. Our evidence suggests that the more radical strategy did have some payoff. The participants with whom it was used, largely women in our study, did appear to move up the occupational ladder.[52]

The dilemma of programs such as WIN is that training, although often valued, tends to delay and obscure a basic program goal, job placement. Still, when a program is as successful in training-education as WIN I apparently was, with a population that both needs and desires such training, these functions and successes should not be neglected. If training programs can more effectively educate many adults than public schools can, perhaps such training is a legitimate function of manpower programs, whatever the immediate job consequences may be.

On the other hand, if WIN women need and want jobs more than anything else, as many indicate, then a strategy aimed at placement (and, as a fallback position, subsidized on-the-job training and public service employment) is certainly responsive to those expressed desires. Moreover, they are aimed toward a viable alternative to the welfare system — guaranteed jobs for all employables.

[43] A. D. Smith et al., op. cit.

[44] Leonard H. Goodwin, *A Study of the Work Orientations of Welfare Recipients Participating in the Work Incentive Program* (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1971). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 202812.

[45] Guy H. Miles and David L. Thompson, *A Study of Low-Income Families: Implications for the WIN Program* (Minneapolis: North Star Research and Development Institute, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 211702.

[46] Charles D. Garvin, *Incentives and Disincentives to Participation in the Work Incentive Program* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: The University of Michigan, 1974). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 231585.

[47] Ibid., p. 7.

[48] Ibid., p. 12.

[49] Ibid., p. 11.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Perry et al., op. cit., p. 396.

[52] A. D. Smith et al., op. cit.

Welfare Alternatives and Work Incentives. A conceptual design for an employment alternative to welfare explored the issues, implications, and costs of a national program of employment as a welfare alternative.[53] The program as designed would guarantee jobs for all employables, and provide a negative income tax and income maintenance for unemployables. It would develop jobs in the private sector and seek unsubsidized, as well as public service, jobs.

The cost of such a program was estimated at about $14 billion a year (in 1973), a sum that would cover the costs of locating or creating jobs for about 2 million family heads not currently working, while supplementing the income of another 1.3 million working poor.

The possibility that income transfers to the working poor would reduce the amount of work they do has been explored in several studies. For example, a study based on National Longitudinal Survey data (on 1966 income) concluded that mature women (in their thirties and early forties) who were potentially eligible for benefits under the proposed Family Assistance Plan are likely to work fewer hours as their income from sources other than work rises.[54] An increase of 10 percent in the amount of other income available was associated with a 2.8 percent decline in hours worked by black women, and a 3.7 percent decline in hours worked by white women. Moreover, the reduction in family earnings resulting from this decline in worktime would have made the families of these women eligible for even more public support.

These findings are important, the study concluded, because of the interest of policymakers in the extent to which the time spent working responds to changes in public subsidies included in welfare and income maintenance schemes.

Education and health were found to be positively related to hours worked, suggesting that investments in human capital will pay off for poor women in this age group.

The presence of preschool age (but not school age) children was found to be a deterrent to the labor market activity of many black and white women.

A review of research concerning income maintenance proposals confirmed the following view:

> . . . income transfer programs will induce program beneficiaries to work less. Furthermore, on the whole, the studies confirm the hypothesis that the labor supply of prime-aged husbands will be affected much less by transfer payments than the labor supply of wives, female heads of households and older men. But there are problems with even the best labor supply studies which preclude precise estimates of the effects of transfer programs on any group.[55]

[53] Jodie T. Allen et al., *The Conceptual Design of an Employment Alternative to Welfare* (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1973). ETA-ORD.

[54] Jack A. Meyer, *Labor Supply of Women Potentially Eligible for Family Assistance* (Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Research Foundation, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 213737.

[55] I. Garfinkel, *Income Maintenance Programs and Work Effort: A Review* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin, Institute for Research on Poverty, 1974), p. 30.

8. THE IMPACT OF MANPOWER PROGRAMS ON WOMEN

In the 1960's, concerns about poverty and labor shortages led to the formulation of a national manpower policy. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA) authorized the Department of Labor and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to improve the job opportunities of the underemployed. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 authorized a variety of antipoverty programs that sought to break down institutional barriers to the participation of the poor.

In 1973, both the MDTA and the EOA were replaced by the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). CETA sought to reduce the role of the Federal Government in manpower programs. Under CETA the categorical programs were replaced by local comprehensive programs. WIN and the Job Corps continued to be operated by the Department of Labor nationally.

CETA's impact on women has not yet been assessed fully, as discussed at the end of this chapter, but there is some useful information about how women fared in programs sponsored under MDTA and EOA. The often-cited review of evaluations of manpower programs found that fewer than 44 of the 252 studies reviewed provided any data on minorities or women.[1] Presumably not all of these provided data on women. Evaluations of three programs (Operation Mainstream, the Concentrated Employment Program, and Public Service Careers) contained no information on women or minorities. Only 1 of the 42 studies of the Job Corps contained data on women or minorities, and only 1 of the 16 on the Public Employment Program (the most heavily funded program in 1972). Only 2 of the 43 studies of the Neighborhood Youth Corps (the most heavily funded program over the years 1965 through 1972) contained separate data on minorities or women. Thus rather little can be said conclusively about the benefits to women in these programs. Clearly, evaluative studies in the future should be required to provide data on program benefits to women.

Participation

About 9 million people were enrolled in MDTA and EOA programs between fiscal years 1965 and 1972. Blacks were 4.1 million enrollees (46.3 percent of the total). Seventy-three percent of enrollees were under age 22, and 79 percent had less than a full high school education. Women were 3.9 million (43.9 percent of the total), as shown in table 10.

TABLE 10. Women Enrollees in Various Programs, 1965-1972

Programs	Number (thousands)	Percent of total
All	3,908	43.9
Skill training:		
MDTA institutional training	530	44.8
MDTA on-the-job training (OJT)	190	30.4
Job development:		
Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS)	99	31.6
Public Service Careers and New Careers (PSC)	72	64.3
Apprenticeship Outreach Program (AOP)	—	—
Public Employment Program (PEP)	85	27.9
Employability development:		
Opportunities Industrialization Centers, Inc. (OIC)	114	69.9
Concentrated Employment Program (CEP)	199	42.4
Work Incentive (WIN) Program	256	63.1
Job Corps	63	27.0
Work experience:		
Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC):		
In school	1,840	42.4
Out of school	437	47.7
Operation Mainstream (OM)	23	25.6

The enrollment data indicate the following:

The impact of manpower programs has been most pronounced in those programs which have focused on skill training and job development, and it has been least significant in those programs which have been confined to prevocational training or work experience — the very programs which have served the highest concentration of youth, minorities, and women. . . . It is most important to note that minorities and women were disproportionately concentrated in programs, which . . . were limited in their emphasis on skill training.[2]

Only 18.4 percent of women participated in skill training programs, compared with 27.2 percent of men.

There were *no* women in the program that was regarded as the most successful. "If there is one conclusion that may be drawn clearly from the vast evidence examined in this study, it is that Apprenticeship Outreach Program has been the single most successful manpower program beamed toward minorities, as far as short-term economic benefits are concerned."[3]

[1] Charles R. Perry et al., *Impact of Manpower Training Programs in General and on Minorities and Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS.

[2] Ibid., p. 141.

[3] Ibid., p. 142.

Only one of the programs, Operation Mainstream, is aimed at the employment problems of older workers. Only 25.6 percent of enrollees in this program were women, despite the serious problems faced by mature women in reentering the labor force.

Women, moreover, appear to have been considerably underrepresented in the programs where per enrollee costs were highest and benefits, presumably, greatest. That is, women were only 27 percent of enrollments in Job Corps, the program in which per enrollee investments were highest, by far. They were only 27.9 percent of enrollments in PEP, where investments were second highest; and they were only 25.6 percent of enrollees in OM, where investments were third highest per enrollee.

MDTA, the forerunner of current manpower programs, enphasized skill training, but it also included classroom instruction, remedial training, supportive services, and training allowances. A major feature was on-the-job training (OJT) by employers, paid for by public funds. Despite attempts to expand OJT, which yielded superior benefits for trainees, enrollments in OJT never approached those in the so-called institutional segment of MDTA. For women, this difference was accentuated, because the proportion of women in OJT was considerably less than in the institutional programs — 28.6 percent vs. 41.6 percent for the 1963-72 period.[4]

Earnings Gains

Figures on pre-and posttraining earnings indicate the gain in earnings was clearly greater, in dollars and cents, for men than for women in all MDTA and EOA programs.

In 1964, the gain in institutional MDTA was $1,182 for women, compared with $1,447 for men. The gain in OJT-MDTA was $1,426 for women and $1,743 for men. Much of the gain for women was attributable to the fact that they tended to be only partially employed before MDTA participation.[5] Before training, the annual earnings of women had averaged only between $500 and $600.

Using median hourly wage rates as a measure, it again appears that the absolute gain was greater for men than for women, and that posttraining wage rates of men were significantly higher than those of women. A study of the impact of all manpower programs in four cities found that although women did gain 4 cents more an hour than men, *their posttraining wage rate was nevertheless 39 cents an hour less than the male rate.*[6]

In some programs, the posttraining differences were even greater. The posttraining hourly earnings of white women were lower than male rates by $1.24 in the OJT-MDTA program, 41 cents in the institutional MDTA, 73 cents in WIN, and 42 cents in CEP.[7]

Thus, only a percentage measure of hourly wage increases for women (pre- and postenrollment) shows a better gain than for men, and their postenrollment wage rates were significantly lower in most cases than those of men. In the few comparisons with control groups who took no training, women gained more than men in comparison with the nontrainees, but the women's advantage may be attributable to the fact that the female controls were not as fully employed as their male counterparts.

Assessment of Progress

In view of these findings, it is regrettable that researchers almost unanimously have stressed relative, rather than absolute gains, in concluding that there is an "apparent advantage to women in terms of gains from training."[8] This interpretation underlies the conclusion of the comprehensive review of research and evaluation:

> Overall, the available data tend to indicate that women have benefited more than men . . . from the services provided. . . . In general, women, including minority women, experienced larger gains than their male counterparts in a number of programs, and particularly in those programs which had the more significant overall impact upon participant earnings.[9]

Such interpretations not only gloss over the smaller absolute gains by women but also deemphasize the import of other findings. Closer attention could be usefully given to the following ways in which women apparently benefited less from these programs than men did:

1. Overall, participation of women in the programs was significantly less than that of men. Women's participation was, it is true, greater than their participation in the labor force, but probably less than need (based on marginality, low wages, welfare, discrimination) might require.
2. The participation of women was lowest in the skill training programs, where most benefits were to be gained, and highest in the work experience programs, where reviewers reported there was least to be gained.
3. Women were underenrolled in the programs where per enrollee spending was highest.
4. Participation of women in the only program for older workers (Operation Mainstream) was low, despite the special pressing needs of many older women workers.
5. Women did not participate in the Apprenticeship Outreach Program at all, though it was regarded as the most successful of the programs. (Women are now included.)
6. Indications are that dropouts were higher among women than men (with the exception of the WIN program).
7. Job placement rates for women apparently were lower than those for men, whether because of factors associated with the programs themselves, or with factors in the labor market, or both.

In gauging the impact of these programs, evaluators can hardly claim that the increases in earnings of women who completed a program resulted from "program impact," while ascribing their inferior earnings (relative to male counterparts) to "market conditions." The market and the programs are, in both cases, interlocked. The purpose of the programs

[4] Ibid., p. 151.
[5] Ibid., p. 162.
[6] Ibid., p. 44.
[7] Ibid., p. 120.
[8] Ibid., p. 184.
[9] Ibid., p. 77.

was to improve enrollees' positions in the market. Positions of equality for women exist in the market (indeed, the law requires them), and if these positions are not located, the impact of the programs is diminished.

Just as placement is a program component, so are recruitment, selection, program assignment, education-training preparation, supports (in many cases), and holding power. When women are underrecruited, when their dropout rates are high, or when they are assigned to low-cost, low-potential programs, the programs' impact on women is, in these respects, also diminished.

A First Look at Women in CETA

An early review of the impact of the decentralized Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973 found that

> Although CETA replaced the earlier mandated categorical programs to encourage greater flexibility, local prime sponsors are continuing such programs largely unchanged.
>
> The character of manpower programs is changing from one preoccupied with the intractable employability problems of the disadvantaged to one increasingly concerned with the immediate cyclical problems or the unemployed generally.
>
> The manpower planning process is better integrated with the local administrative and power structure but the formal planning documents are generally not well developed. By repeated modifications, plans are adjusted to mirror experience. Consequently, the planning process tends to follow rather than lead program development.[10]

While the report says virtually nothing about women in CETA, it does note that the proportion of female participants rose somewhat under CETA, compared with previous categorical programs. In the first part of fiscal year 1974, under the categorical programs, women were 42.3 percent of participants. Under CETA, by the fourth quarter of fiscal year 1974, female participation had risen to 45.6 percent. Women were somewhat more likely to participate in the cities (53.2 percent) than in the counties (50.6 percent) or other government sponsoring units. The aggregate figures disguise wide variations among individual prime sponsors, ranging from 37 percent to 57 percent female.

A first order of business for women, judging by this report and the dearth of information about women participants, is the gathering and analysis of data on CETA's impact on women, and its effectiveness in serving their work needs.

A very brief excursion into the experience of the New York City CETA, conducted by this reviewer, suggests, for example, the following:

1. Women were a high proportion of clients (47,954 females and 48,395 males in the quarter ending Dec. 31, 1975), but only 1,784 females were placed in jobs during that period, compared with 2,201 males.

2. Considerable sex segregation existed in the city's 200 projects, perhaps especially in projects sponsored by private schools, with males being generally served by technical and trade school sponsors and women by business school sponsors.[11]

3. Little attention had been given to the development of nontraditional occupations for women, although a conference was planned for job developers on the changing jobs of women. This was the only apparent evidence of organized interest in the subject.

4. Nobody on the staff was assigned the specific task of reviewing services to women or program impact on women.

5. Participation of women at policymaking levels was minimal, compared with their participation in the program. For example, only 3 women (out of 38 members) served on the New York City Manpower Area Planning Council (the key policy and planning group). One of these women represented the N.Y. Chamber of Commerce, another the Concerned Parents-Family Day Care Career Project, and the third was the Commissioner of the N.Y.C. Department of Employment. Thus, women were only about 1 in 13 on the council, compared with almost half of the program's participants.

6. There was an expressed need for attention to and discussions of day-care facilities in neighborhoods and the matter of dropping out of high school for pregnancy.

7. Guidance literature used to counsel participants was found to contain some amount of sex stereotyping (as in the *Counselors' Guide to Occupational Education*, used by the N.Y.C. Board of Education). The full extent of such stereotyping could not be examined.

8. Target Group Data indicated that there were considerably more females than males between the ages of 16 and 21 in New York City in 1970 (380,379 females and 345,567 males).[12] Among 16 to 21-year-olds not enrolled in school, 38 percent of females were *non*-high school graduates and 50 cercent of males. Of these, 70 percent of the females and 53 percent of the males were unemployed or not in the labor force.

There were 125,038 male-headed families and 111,469 female-headed families below the poverty level; 7 percent of all male-headed families, and 31 percent of female-headed families were below the poverty level. Of those in poverty, female family heads were much less likely than male heads to be in the labor force.

[10] *The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, Impact on People, Places, Programs* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1976), pp. 18-19.

[11] E.g., Printing Trade School Ltd., 20 men, no women; Apex Technical School, 16 men, no women; Announcer Training Studios, 17 men and 3 women; Technical Careers Institute, 20 men, no women; Plaza Business School, 5 men, 31 women; Allen School for Physician Aides, no men, 22 women; Community Film Workshop, 46 men, 16 women; Channel 13, 44 men, 17 women; Harlem Youth Speaks, 51 men, 13 women; Pioneer Marine School, 67 men, 2 women. The Puerto Rican Forum, among others, also gave primary attention to males.

[12] *Comprehensive Manpower Plan for New York City, Fiscal Year 1974* (New York: N.Y.C. Manpower Area Planning Council), vol. 1.

9. GOVERNMENT AND WOMEN WORKERS: THREE KEY AREAS

Numerous government operations relate to women and work. The three included here — the U.S. Employment Service, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and occupational licensing — were selected either because they relate significantly to the employment and training of women, or because a significant body of sponsored research relates to them.

The U.S. Employment Service (USES)

The Federal-State employment system is a vital part of employment and training programs. Moreover, sponsored research has recently turned considerable attention to employment services.

Established in 1933, the Federal-State employment system contains 50 autonomous agencies (the State Employment Services), a network of over 2,400 offices and 40,000 employees who register job applicants, offer some counseling and testing service, develop jobs, and refer applicants to jobs. It is the primary source of referrals to employment and training programs and vocational education programs. Unemployment insurance and employable welfare recipients are required to register with the Employment Service. Special services are also offered to older workers, youth, the handicapped, the disadvantaged. The Service develops occupational and labor market information, maintains a program on occupational research which prepares materials such as the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles,* occupational classification systems and techniques, occupational brochures, and methodology for job structuring.

USES and Women

About 2.5 million women were referred to jobs by State Employment Service offices in fiscal year 1975, and almost 1.3 million women were placed in nonagricultural jobs in that year, amounting to 40 percent of the total in both cases.[1] About 412,000 women received some job counseling and 440,000 were tested during the year. The average starting wage for women placed by the ES was $2.60 an hour.

The USES requires reports from its State affiliates on the number of women registered, the number placed, and the wages paid. It does not record the occupations of placements by sex, so it cannot be determined from USES data what kinds of jobs women were placed in, relative to men.

ES staff cannot accept employer orders that violate laws on pay, hours of work, race. It cannot accept orders that designate men or women in hiring except as a bona fide job requirement. ES staff has been informed that affirmative action is ES policy. No method exists, however, for determining to what extent affirmative action is applied and to what extent referrals are sex neutral. Records are not kept by sex on occupation, employer, or firm of placement, so the data required for affirmative action evaluations are lacking.

ES has reportedly made progress in getting women into the apprenticeship trades. State agencies have also been instructed to prepare information for clients on licensed day-care centers and guides to the selection of child-care facilities.

To stimulate interest in the special needs of women, the USES has asked State affiliates to submit plans for improving service to women applicants.

In 1973, the Secretary of Labor, after meeting with seven national women's organizations, set up a group to make recommendations on improving women's status in the Manpower Administration (now the Employment and Training Administration) and in job and training programs. On March 14, 1974, the first in a series of directives was sent out to all State employment agencies on "Improving ES Services to Women Job Seekers." The agencies were asked to submit materials they had found useful in improving services to women.

Washington Opportunities for Women (WOW), on a Manpower Administration grant, has provided volunteers for an information and referral service for women at the local ES office. Other cities (Atlanta, Richmond, Baltimore, Boston, Providence, and Montpelier) have been funded to do similar work in ES offices. Several States have adopted the experimental techniques on a permanent basis.

As for ES staff, in states with a strong civil service merit system, women have better opportunities for promotion within ES than in other States. Women generally have more training and experience in supervisory jobs than men who work at the same level in USES. In 1975 there were only 5 women at grade 13; 4 at grade 14, and none at grade 15.

ES has apparently not done much to promote part-time jobs, which would be of special benefit to women and older people. It has not been regarded as a high or an appealing priority.

At one time ES had a separate professional placement service. In view of the oversupply of professional women in the market, it has been suggested that the ES return to the former setup. Even professional women apparently find it more difficult than men to locate jobs, so they are in greater need of a specialized placement service.

[1] *Employment and Training Report of the President, 1976* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, 1976), p. 126.

Although directives on women from USES have had some reported impact, there appears to be no followup procedure or means of determining to what extent directives are followed.

ES offices now usually have a special representative for veterans and one for minorities. A similar representative for women is clearly in order, one who would be acquainted with the special needs of women and who would serve as an advocate in enforcing the law on sex discrimination.

According to USES staff interviewed, the most significant change that has taken place in the Employment Service with respect to women has been the revision of the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*.[2] This revision has desexed the titles and raised the skill codes in some traditionally female occupations. The desexing of titles in particular has, in the opinion of staff, had a significant effect on the way people in the ES think and what they talk about. It has, in effect, raised the level of consciousness of ES staff because the DOT is so basic to their work.

Revisions include changes in over 3,000 titles: From salesman to sales agent, sales associate, sales representative, etc.; from foreman to supervisor; from draftsman to drafter; from repairman to repairer; patrolman to police officer; serviceman to servicer; assemblyman to assembler; seamstress to sewer; bellman to bellhop; airplane stewardess to airplane flight attendant.

Most changes occurred, proportionately, in the service and structural work code groups. Fewest were made in the professional/managerial codes, as shown in table 11.

TABLE 11. Title Changes in DOT Code Groups

Code group	Occupational group	Number of titles		Percent of titles desexed
		Total	Desexed	
1	Professional/ managerial	2,550	160	6.3
2	Clerical and sales	1,493	275	18.4
3	Service	988	265	26.8
4	Farming, fishery, forestry, and related	764	102	13.3
5	Processing	4,644	833	17.9
6	Machine trades	3,369	535	15.8
7	Benchwork	4,579	469	10.2
8	Structural work	1,621	413	25.4
9	Miscellaneous	1,793	340	18.9

Who Uses USES?

Users in Middle-Size Cities. A study of job search, recruitment, and the USES described labor exchange activities in cities of 100,000 to 250,000 population.[3] The Employment Service, the study found, was consulted by about 25 percent of all employers and 28 percent of all jobfinders in these cities during the last 6 months of 1974. At one time or another, about half of all employers and jobfinders had consulted with the ES about employment needs. Most recruitment and job search, however, were carried on by informal methods such as direct application and contact with friends or relatives.

TABLE 12. Use and Success of Job Search Methods in Medium-Size Cities (100,000–200,000 Population), July–December 1974

Search method used	Percent of jobfinders		Percent of users succeeding
	Using	Hired	
All methods	100.0[1]	100.0[2]	
Employment Service	27.6	5.6	20.3
Private agency	14.5	5.6	38.6
Employer direct	82.1	29.8	36.3
Looked at want ads	62.5	—	
(Answered ads)	47.5	16.6	34.9
Labor unions	6.2	1.4	22.5
Friends/relatives	65.0	30.7	47.2
Business associates	33.1	3.3	9.9
Community organizaton	1.6	0.4	21.9
School placement	10.9	3.0	27.5
Professional journal	6.4		
(Answered)	(2.5)		

[1]Sum of items exceeds 100.0 percent because most jobfinders used more than one method.

[2]Includes about 300 respondents who did not answer the "how found job" question and who are, therefore, exluded from the distribution by search method.

Source: See text footnote 3 reference, p. 72.

Of formal methods, newspaper ads were used most often and placed people most often in jobs, followed by the ES. But all formal methods combined (including private agencies, unions, and other agencies) placed only about one-third of workers in their jobs, and the ES placed only about 1 worker in 18 (see table 12).

The ES was used mainly by large employers. Small and marginal employers seldom listed vacancies. Because of their size, however, the 25 percent of employers who used the ES represented 36 percent of all vacancies. Those who listed with the ES were likely to list most of their vacancies with the exception of those in professional, technical, and managerial occupations.

Employers listed a disproportionately small percent of their clerical and sales orders with ES, but a disproportionately high percent of people with clerical and sales skills used ES in their job search. This may reflect an employer desire to avoid hiring minority clerical women.

Only 20 percent of applicants were counseled by ES, 15 percent were tested, and 6 percent were provided, or referred to, other services. This heavy emphasis on placement represented a departure from the late 1960's when the ES emphasized employability development.

People with some high school were placed almost twice as often as those with less than a ninth-grade education. This was not because of employer response but because ES referred to jobs only 15 percent of those without high school, compared to 45 percent of those with at least a ninth-grade education.

[2]Some of the impetus for the revision came from the Wisconsin Women in Apprenticeship project, discussed in ch. 6.

[3]*Recruitment, Job Search, and the United States Employment Service* (Philadelphia: Camil Associates, Inc., December 31, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 254091AS.

Employers were most concerned about the suitability of referrals received from ES. They hired only about one referral in three.

The mean hourly wage of women placed on jobs by ES was $2.96, and of men, $4.12. For both sexes, these rates were slightly higher than those of all employees who found jobs by other means.

It was also noted that overall, 35 percent of all people and 50 percent of all women applying to the ES did not obtain jobs between the time they applied and the date of the study (an average of 7 months).

Although the report clearly has implications for women job seekers, very little specific information on women applicants to ES was included.

ES Competitors in the Job Search. A comprehensive review[4] of jobseeking methods used by American workers in 1972 showed that, in the country as a whole (vs. the medium-sized cities covered in the study just discussed), the ES plays an even smaller role in jobseeking and jobfinding:[5]

Two out of three jobseekers applied directly to employers without suggestions or referrals by anyone. The next four methods used most frequently, but by much smaller proportions of workers, were: Asking friends about jobs where they work; answering local newspaper ads; asking friends about jobs at places other than where they work; and checking with the State employment service.

Thirty-five percent of the workers obtained jobs through direct application to employers, and 12 percent each by asking friends about jobs where they work and by answering local newspaper ads. About equal proportions (5 to 6 percent) of the jobseekers obtained their jobs through the State employment service and through private employment agencies.

Of all persons who applied directly to employers for work, about half found their job that way -- about double the percentage for the methods with the next two highest rates.

The four methods most commonly used and the method by which the largest proportion of workers obtained jobs were the same for men and for women, and with minor exceptions, for most other characteristics by which jobfinders were grouped.

Greater proportions of blacks than whites asked friends and relatives about jobs where they worked, took Civil Service tests, checked with State employment service, and contacted local assistance organizations. Smaller proportions applied directly to employers or answered local newspaper ads, methods which have relatively high effectiveness rates. Blacks should be encouraged to use these two methods to a greater extent, now that government and industry programs are in force to eliminate discriminatory hiring practices. Continued high dependence on friends and relatives for job leads will limit the range of job opportunities for blacks.

Greater proportions of blacks than whites who contacted the State employment service and local organizations found jobs through these methods. Smaller proportions of blacks than whites who applied directly to employers, answered local newspaper ads, and checked with private employment agencies and school placement offices obtained jobs through these methods.

Before finding a job, the average jobseeker used four methods. The number tended to rise with the length of search and to vary widely by occupation and demographic characteristics. Men used more methods than women. Many persons who did not find a job within relatively few weeks subsequently tried additional methods, which suggests that use of as many methods as possible early in the search could improve the chances of finding a job.

Of the 5.4 million jobseekers who were employed just before beginning their job search, nearly half started to look for a new job while still on the old one. Of those who did not look while still working, 2 out of 5 began their search within 1 or 2 days after leaving their old job. Among persons who waited more than 2 days, 2 out of 5 waited because they wanted to take some time off. It took about as long to find a job for persons who started to look for work after leaving their job as for those who started their search while still employed. Some joblessness could be decreased, if not prevented, if employers could notify employees well in advance of a layoff and permit them to take off a few hours a week, with pay, to look for another job.

A majority of jobhunters found jobs within 4 weeks, including time spent looking while still employed. Relatively fewer men than women found jobs within 4 weeks. Duration of job search was generally about the same regardless of the method by which the job was found. In a given economic climate, finding a job quickly depends more on many other factors, such as wage expectations, geographic location, experience and skills, motivation, and financial resources, than on methods used.

Jobseekers searched for work comparatively few hours a week and looked relatively close to home. About two-thirds of the jobseekers spent 5 hours or less per week on their job search, and nearly 3 out of 4 traveled no farther than 25 miles from home to look for work. Intensity or hours of job search a week apparently had no effect on the duration of the search.

One out of three jobseekers turned down an offer. Three out of 10 who declined offers did so because of low pay, and an equal proportion because the location, hours, or other working conditions were unsatisfactory. A greater proportion of whites than blacks refused job offers.

Nearly 45 percent of jobseekers were women. Somewhat over one-half of the female jobseekers were married. Thirty-seven percent of the men and 15 percent of the women traveled more than 25 miles to look for work. Among both men and women, much larger proportions of jobseekers who obtained jobs as professional workers or as managers traveled over 100 miles from home to look for work. Among men, about one-third of the professionals and one-fourth of the managers went over 100 miles to look for work; among women, about 18 percent of jobseekers in these two occupations traveled that distance. One-third of the men and one-half of the women found jobs within 5 miles of home. While 66.5 percent of males seeking jobs as managers and administrators applied directly to employers, only 52.4 percent of their female counterparts did.

Want Ads: Unfair Competition. To make the ES more effective in its services to minorities and women, attention needs to be given to existing forms of discrimination in newspaper want ads, the leading formal source of job placement. Employers who wish to discriminate may simply avoid ES services and fill their openings through sex-designated newspaper ads, despite the illegality of that practice.[6]

Want ads in newspapers in Salt Lake City and San Francisco, and in 19 other newspapers, were found to present a distorted picture of local job markets because of ad duplications. Ads were highly successful in matching applicants to job openings for a rather small but important group of employers, mainly large firms in selected industries of the two cities.

Weaknesses in the want ads are: inadequate information about job titles advertised, less than scrupulous concern with identifying and separating advertising for job openings from ads for other types of earning opportunities, haphazard organization of want ad columns and ad script, and disregard for established, legislated public policy as it regards discriminatory advertising practices.[7]

[4]The survey, conducted by the Bureau of the Census according to specifications of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Manpower Administration (now the Employment and Training Administration), and financed by the Manpower Administration, covered all persons in the monthly Current Population Survey who, during 1972, had started the job at which they were employed in January 1973.

[5]*Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers*, Bulletin 1886 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1975), pp. 2-3.

[6]Sex designation is permitted where there is a bona fide basis, for example, attendant in a women's rest room.

[7]John Walsh et al., *Help Wanted: Case Studies of Classified Ads* (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Co., 1975), p. 92. ETA-ORD--NTIS, PB 237066.

The study found that want ads discriminate against women, that newspapers permit employers to make sex designations in their ads. Such practices are illegal, but newspapers claimed they did not want to take on the role of law enforcer in the case of sex designations, though all the papers enforced the law against race designations.

In June 1973, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the case of *Pittsburgh Press v. Pittsburgh Commission on Human Relations* and upheld a Pittsburgh ordinance banning sex designations in newspaper want ad headings. The decision placed both the help wanted ads and their arrangement in the realm of commercial speech and thereby subject to government regulation.

The Supreme Court ruling against sex-designated want ad headings came about because the National Organization of Women compiled massive evidence of violations and took legal action. In San Francisco, one women's organization picketed the San Francisco *Chronical-Examiner* in protest of discriminatory language in its want ads. The mere existence of the Civil Rights Act, passed in 1964, did not ensure that law enforcement agencies would focus on ending discriminatory practices.[8]

The report concluded, however, that the only want ad user constituency "demonstrating sustained interest, group coherency, articulation, and power are the private employment agencies."[9] Other constituencies, or government regulation and enforcement, the report suggested, are needed to overcome want ad bias, distortion, and misleading listings.

The Shifting ES Clientele

"A faded blue shirt collar nestles next to a starched white one on a bare table. This eye-catching photograph decorates the cover of a glossy brochure designed to persuade Wisconsin employers that the State's public employment offices, long considered strictly a source of blue-collar laborers, can help locate more highly skilled white-collar employees, too."[10]

Far from using the no-fee services of ES's $600-million-a-year placement services to fill higher paying jobs, "most companies are busy dodging a slackly enforced, 5-year-old Federal regulation"[11] designed to force Federal contractors to list such openings with the ES.

The agency says its goal is to increase professional listings, which are now only 7 percent of the total. "Yet such goals have repeatedly eluded the agency, which was created in 1933 to help the unemployed find jobs. It has been trying for 5 years to woo employers turned off by its late-1960's stress on helping poor and minority workers. In this effort, it has been hampered by the fact that most unemployment compensation claimants and able-bodied welfare recipients must register with USES."[12]

A 1971 executive order known as the "mandatory listings" rule requires that Federal Government contractors list all vacancies paying up to $18,000 a year (as of 1976) with the ES. "The Labor Department estimates only 'between one-third and one-half' of all employers are complying with the rule; it can't be more specific since it isn't even sure how many Federal contractors the rule affects."[13]

Why isn't the law obeyed? "For one thing the mandatory job-listing rule is easily evaded. Responsibility for enforcing it rests with Federal 'contract compliance' officials preoccupied with policing regulations banning employment discrimination on the basis of race or sex. Moreover, officials in the Employment Service's field offices are reluctant to snap at the corporate hands that toss them even a few job openings.

"Also, many employers secretly fear that seeking USES referrals will expose them to more pressure to hire females and minority groups members."[14] Security Pacific National Bank in Los Angeles, however, reports a "tremendous" increase in its job listings with USES since local officials began enforcing the mandatory listing rule in 1973. The bank reports it is pleased with ES and has hired six entry level managers through the service.

A "Job Service Improvement Program," which is being introduced into 30 State employment offices in 1976, is appointing "account executives" to personalize services to companies. Employer advisory committees are also being created to get ES staff mingling with company personnel officers.

The efforts of ES to serve the disadvantaged, and perhaps women also, may actually be declining, despite demands for increased service to these groups.

A report on the impact of CETA found "signs that the Employment Service may be returning to its role of serving the job-ready while CETA serves the disadvantaged. This would negate the 10-year effort to make the Employment Service more responsive to the needs of the disadvantaged.[15]

"A two-tier manpower system may emerge: One for the disadvantaged and another for the better-qualified workers." The extent to which the Employment Service effectively serves women jobseekers was not discussed.

Conclusions

The USES has been attempting to improve its service to women, who are, of course, but one group of the claimants for its services. The review of ES services to women and the research on the role and image of the ES in the job market suggest that there is still room for improvement. Additional steps that might be taken are:

1. Legislative examination of the advisability of requiring employers to list job openings with the ES.
2. Examination of the discrepancy between the clerical jobs listed by employers and number of clerical applicants to ES, with a view to improving ES services to clerical workers.
3. Including a women's representative on the staff of all large ES offices.
4. Followup on directives pertaining to women.
5. Inclusion of sex breakdown on placement occupations and industries.

[8] Ibid., p. 97.
[9] Ibid.
[10] *Wall Street Journal*, May 11, 1976, pp. 1, 10.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *The Comprehensive Employment and Training Act: Impact on People, Places, Programs* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1976).

6. Review of ES staff hiring and promotion practices.
7. More work with employers on job development for women.
8. Greater attention to developing rewarding part-time jobs.
9. Review of the need for a separate professional placement service, in view of high unemployment among women professionals.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)

The EEOC[16] operates under title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended in 1972. Title VII prohibits discrimination because of sex, race, color, religion, or national origin, in all employment practices, including hiring, firing, layoffs, promotion, wages, training, disciplinary action, and other terms, privileges, conditions, or benefits or employment. Title VII covers private employers of 15 or more persons, employment agencies both public and private, labor unions with 15 or more members, joint labor-management apprenticeship committees, educational institutions both public and private, and State and local governments.

The EEOC enforces title VII except in behalf of Federal employees (handled by the U.S. Civil Service Commission), employees of State and local governments (handled by the Department of Justice), and employees of Federal contractors (handled by the Department of Labor.)

When the EEOC receives a charge alleging job discrimination, filed by an individual or a group on behalf of an individual, it investigates the charge. If the facts indicate discrimination, EEOC conciliates and tries to persuade the employer voluntarily to stop the discriminatory practice but, if conciliation fails, it files suit in Federal court. Individuals may, if they choose, initiate their own private suits.

In 1967, EEOC received 1,880 sex discrimination charges from women and 123 from men. By 1974, this had risen to 15,617 for women and 3,047 for men, representing 37 percent of all charges. More than a third of the total charges received were resolved by conciliation or litigation.

In the early days almost all charges of sex discrimination came from blue-collar women. Professionals were reluctant to file charges out of fear of retaliation or trouble. Since 1972, when EEOC received jurisdiction over educational institutions, it now gets many white collar cases. Of all charges in higher education, 95 percent were sex based and came mainly from women.

Even the Ph.D. requirement for employment in some jobs is being challenged: Companies have reanalyzed some jobs for engineers and have found that a third or a quarter of the work being done by engineers does not require any engineering degree at all.[17] Less qualified people can be hired to do the nonengineering work, and jobs can be opened to women who are less likely than men to be trained engineers. In some cases, companies have found they needed good salespeople rather than engineers.

Considerable attention has been given to selection standards as they apply to minorities (tests, job requirements, interviews, etc.), but little attention has been given to the consequences for women.

Unintentional systemic discrimination is a matter of some concern and applicability to women. This kind of discrimination is a consequence of the fact that most of the hiring for better quality jobs is done by word of mouth, through "in-house" social networks, with the result that white males tend to be perpetuated in these better jobs. In this respect, the Griggs decision of the Supreme Court is very important. In that decision, discrimination was defined as "effect," rather than "intent," and the burden of proof was put on the employer to prove nondiscrimination.

No analysis is available of the substance of charges received by EEOC, but it is reported informally that most of the charges received from the private sector in 1974 had to do with discriminatory pay and compensation, and the second most common charge had to do with terms of employment. In compensation cases, charges may be filed under both the Equal Pay Act and the Civil Rights Act. The Equal Pay Act, administered by the Department of Labor, has a large administrative staff, and it can process charges faster than EEOC, despite a large backlog of cases. It is often able to convince employers to go along without court action. At EEOC equal pay charges go into a very large backlog. EEOC is also concerned with fringe benefits as well as hourly pay, and with sex segregated departments within firms. EEOC will investigate complaints alleging such segregation and may call for a reassignment of jobs. At Corning Glass, it was found, for example, that women and men in certain occupations did exactly the same work but only men could work nights and night work paid more.

Lifting restrictions on jobs now has to be based on personal ability rather than on sex. EEOC has not found "protective laws" an issue, since in practice most of these laws have been used to exclude women from many preferred jobs.

In its National Programs Division, EEOC tries to speed up the settlement of cases in an industry where many complaints have been received. By handling them all at once, it tries to settle with the industry rather than with individual firms. An example is the communications industry, where an EEOC case against American Telephone and Telegraph culminated in a court decision. In the steel industry, settlement was effected by a consent decree. Priorities are based on the number of charges received. Five major national corporations were on the priorities list in 1975.

EEOC has issued guidelines on maternity leaves which classify childbirth as a physical disability. A case on forced maternity leaves was first won by schoolteachers who were required to take leave after the fifth month of pregnancy. The Supreme Court decided that the teachers could not be forced to leave before childbirth. The issue of whether pregnancy should be treated as a temporary disability, however, has not yet gone to the Supreme Court. The Communications Workers of America have challenged the General Electric Company to follow the guidelines on disability, and GE has

[16] Information in this section comes almost exclusively from discussions with EEOC staff.

[17] Bernice Sandler, of the Project on Status of Women, Association of American Colleges, Washington, D.C.

challenged the EEOC guidelines in court.

Treating childbirth as a disability means that women get disability insurance during the period of disability, however long it continues. Estimates of the cost of such insurance range from $4.4 million to $12.8 million (in Wisconsin alone), depending on coverage and benefit level.[18] This might increase insurance costs by 9 percent, a not insignificant sum.

In 1972 EEOC was given powers for litigation. Until then, it could only investigate and refer cases to the Department of Justice for litigation. The Commission is understaffed and the backlog of cases is very large. Many groups pursue their own cases in court because EEOC is so slow.

Before EEOC had litigation powers, employers tended not to take the guidelines seriously; now, according to staff, they are taken much more seriously. Guidelines have often been challenged, but they have been consistently upheld in the courts. Cases can take 3 years and back compensation can be awarded from 2 years before charges were filed. Class action suits can cost employers a great deal of money in back pay to employees. Employers, therefore, are often interested in settling. Change in employer practices is likely to be greatest between the time charges are filed and the time EEOC investigates, a process that may take several years.

In reviewing the operations of EEOC, one is struck by the scope and significance of its operations, and by the real and potential impact of its activites on the employment of women. At the same time, one is struck by the dearth of research, data, and analysis relating to its activities, a consequence, no doubt, of the general work overload on its staff.

Clearly efforts should be made to improve the quantity and quality of information available. Similar efforts are also needed with respect to discriminatory practices of government employers (Federal from the U.S. Civil Service Commission and State and local from the Department of Justice) and of Federal contractors (from the Department of Labor).

These matters are obviously fundamental to the solution of the problems of inequality in the employment of women. Only one study[19] among the rich variety of manpower research efforts has dealt with the impact of antidiscrimination laws per se on the employment of women. This study found that the laws had had little or no impact on the aggregate demand for women workers in Oregon by 1970, and that employers by 1972 had little or no knowledge of the laws. The study is dated and limited in scope but it points up the need for more research on impact and on a wide variety of other subjects.

Nor has the vast body of data that is reported to the EEOC been much used. Establishments must report their employment in each occupational group (for example, professional and technical workers) by sex and ethnic origin on Form EEO-1 each year if they employ 100 or more persons. Smaller subsidiary branch establishments must also report if the entire firm employs 100 or more. The major study of Negro employment in the South, referred to at the beginning of chapter 6, utilized these data for the seven cities it covered. They are a fertile source of information for local groups that are concerned with employment opportunities for women.

For example, EEO-1 data for 1972 — 8 years after enactment of the Civil Rights Act — add a new dimension to the finding of extensive sex segregation in employment which was discussed in chapter 2.[20] In the 2,795 San Francisco establishments which filed the EEO-1 report for 1972, 62 percent of all the women employees were in establishments where they accounted for at least half the work force. Indeed, 59 of the firms had a work force that was 90 percent or more female. At the other extreme, 57 firms employed no women. Similarly, in Atlanta, only 40 of the 1,736 reporting establishments could get along without any women on the payroll, but 60 percent of the women worked in establishments where they were in the majority. And the hundreds of establishments in Atlanta's 10 leading industires employed a total of only 48 Negro women in professional and technical jobs, although 1 of every 14 workers on their payrolls was a Negro woman. But in both San Francisco and Atlanta, as well as in Chicago, Houston, and Pittsburgh, half or more of the establishments had *no* black women on the payroll. These figures make it clear that the employment patterns of the past are only grudgingly responsive to present efforts to change them. The data could well serve attempts to step up the pace of progress for women.

Occupational Licensing

Licensing is another function of law and government that has a significant effect on work and occupations. Unfortunately, little attention has been given to the effects of licensing laws and practices on women per se.

Licensing gives people who qualify for specific, licensed occupations the right to practice that occupation and, conversely, denies the right to practice of those who do not qualify. Frequently, licensing boards are, in effect, controlled by the occupational association being licensed. Such control enables the association to set entry qualifications and limit access to the occupation. Pressures for licensing come from the practitioners of occupations, not from the public. The sponsoring group usually drafts the needed legislation and has it introduced by a friendly legislator. Letter writing and pressure campaigns are then mounted to persuade legislators to include the occupation under the licensing laws. Conflict of interest results when the control of licensing is then put in the hands of the group being regulated.

In 1967 the Manpower Administration funded the Educational Testing Service (ETS) to study the feasibility of a national inquiry into the impact of licensing on skilled nonprofessional workers.[21] ETS found serious problems in the

[18] Jennifer Gerner, *Economic Implications of Maternity Leave* (Madison, Wis.: State of Wisconsin, Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations, Bureau of Community Services, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 239083/AS.

[19] Lois Ann Martin Bronfman, *The Impact of Rules and Regulations Prohibiting Sex Discrimination in Employment: A Study of Response Patterns of Employers in Oregon* (Eugene, Ore.: University of Oregon, 1973). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 222592.

[20] The data in this paragraph are from an unpublished analysis by the ETA Office of Research and Development of EEO-1 data for five metropolitan areas. Reports from all reporting employers in the five areas, as well as those in each of the area's 10 leading industries, were tabulated on an establishment basis, but without identifying the individual employer. The reports relate to private industry, since title VII did not cover State and local governments in 1972.

[21] Benjamin Shimberg and John V. Moe, *A Pilot Study to Determine the Feasibility of Investigating Nationally the Impact of Licensing Practices on the Availability and Mobility of Nonprofessional Manpower in Occupations Where Skill Shortages Exist* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1968). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 178306. Summarized in *Occupational Licensing Practices and the Supply of Nonprofessional Manpower* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1969). Manpower Research Monograph No. 11.

examination procedures and in the geographic immobility licensing imposes on workers, often restricting movement even within a single State.

The Manpower Administration then commissioned two followup studies: One by ETS of selected skilled occupations in several States and cities; another by Michigan State University to devise procedures for collecting national data on licensed occupations. The report on these two projects was largely a result of the ETS study.

The growth of licensing, the study found, has been "a haphazard, uncoordinated, and chaotic process."[22] Licensing and certification are often confused. Licensing gives a legal right, conferred by some agency of government, to an individual to practice an occupation. Certification or registration rarely provides a legal right. In the two basic patterns of certification (nongovernmental means of granting recognition), (1) the professional association handles certification (as with dietitians and occupational therapists); or (2) an ostensibly independent agency is created by one or more professional groups. An example of such an agency is the Board of Registry of Medical Technologists which is under the control of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists who hire the technologists.

Licensing often has profound, unanticipated consequences, as in education, where the curriculum that prepares people for licensing is inevitably controlled by licensing standards, which are in some cases ridiculously outmoded. Educational credentials are frequently a requirement for licensing. Courts may decide, however, that demonstrated competence on the job may be substituted for formal training. Both educational requirements and tests used by licensing boards have come under question. Often neither actually reflects what is required in the performance of an occupation, but are imposed by boards in order to limit the number of people in the occupation, upgrade the status and rewards of the occupation, and control the types of people who enter (especially minorities and women).

EEOC guidelines state that "the use of any test which adversely affects hiring, promotion, transfer, or any other employment or membership opportunity of classes protected by title VII constitutes discrimination unless (a) the test has been validated and evidences a high degree of utility as hereinafter described and (b) the person giving or acting upon the results of the particular test can demonstrate that alternative suitable hiring, transfer, or promotion procedures are available for his use." Instances of higher rejection rates of women than of men would indicate possible discrimination. A differential rejection rate based on a test "must be relevant to performance on the jobs in question."

Moreover, in the Duke Power Company case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that educational qualifications and tests as a condition for promotion to higher level jobs discriminated against blacks and was therefore illegal. The Court decided the tests must be job-related and properly used. "History is filled with examples of men and women who rendered highly effective performance without the usual badges of accomplishment in terms of certificates, diplomas, or degrees." And again, the Court said, "Diplomas and tests are useful servants, but Congress has mandated the commonsense proposition that they are not to become masters of reality."

In another important court decision, the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York found that the examinations used by the Board of Examiners in New York City had the "de facto effect of discriminating significantly and substantially against Negro and Puerto Rican applicants." White candidates who took the exam received passing grades at almost one and a half times the rate of the other group, and on at least one important administrative exam, they passed at twice the rate of the other group.

The study concludes that there is an urgent need for more information about all aspects of licensing, as well as a need to disseminate information about licensing requirements to workers, counselors, and curriculum specialists.

The need is also apparent for an examination of the effects of licensing practices on women, and the extent to which requirements (educational credentials, testing, interviews, etc.) handicap women in qualifying for licenses. It also needs to be determined how many women sit on licensing boards, and what the licensing status of "women's occupations" is. The same inquiry should be made into certification procedures. Dissemination of information to women and the counselors of women on these practices will also help women gain access to these licensed and certified occupations, which are often desirable and rewarding.

[22] Benjamin Shimberg, Barbara F. Esser, and Daniel H. Kruger, *Occupational Licensing and Public Policy* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1972). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 213055. Also published as *Occupational Licensing: Practices and Policies* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1973), p. 1.

10. OUTLOOK FOR PROGRESS

The Office of Research and Development of the Employment and Training Administration has produced much useful information concerning women workers. Some of the findings have already served to improve women's situation, but other courses of action, outlined later in this chapter, remain to be pursued. Review of this great mass of information also suggests new R&D approaches of a procedural as well as a substantive nature. These are discussed below. Because R&D must look to the future as well as examine the past, concluding comments are on the social and economic trends and issues that can profoundly affect the future of women, as well as the entire society.

Research and Development Agenda

A Clear Focus on Women's Problems

Although manpower research and development projects have yielded a large body of information about women, various studies (including the comprehensive review of program impact summarized in chapters 7 and 8) have found that data on women are frequently lacking or incomplete in critical projects, even when women were among the subjects studied. In projects from which women subjects were absent, possible applications of the findings to women frequently have been neglected. Such projects include inquiries into basic employer practices, such as job analysis, hiring standards, job qualifications, assessment, upgrading, and job training. Nor have inquiries, such as they are, into government practices — licensing, apprenticeship, employment services, vocational education, career education and guidance, staffing of public agencies especially at policy levels — devoted much attention to the effects on women. In view of these shortcomings, it seems advisable to require, or at least request, that all sponsored research and development include separate data on women when female subjects are present or, when no women are included, that an exploration be made of the applications or implications of the findings for women.

In the 1973 edition of *Manpower Research and Development Projects*,[1] for example, projects relating directly or indirectly to women were rather numerous in some classes of inquiry but less so in others. Among "Programs for the Use and Development of Manpower," those dealing with women-related subjects were about 40 of the 203 listed, including the 25 projects dealing with welfare recipients. About 25 of the almost 200 doctoral dissertations dealt directly or indirectly with women, as did about 19 of the 44 Special Target Groups projects (including in the count all those on welfare recipients and low-income workers).

In three other highly significant areas of inquiry, projects related specifically or exclusively to women were only 4 of the 74 Manpower Program Planning and Administration projects, 5 of the 74 projects on the Labor Market (3 of them on worker attitudes) — and 2 of the 38 Manpower, Economic, and Social Policies studies.

To facilitate the retrieval of information on women, projects should be indexed to indicate not only those that (1) deal specifically with women but also those that (2) deal with other subjects but contain information on women. This would also make it easier to determine in which areas research on women tends to be concentrated and in which areas a deficiency of research may exist.

Clearly, more attention should be paid at policy and planning levels to the applications of R&D to women.

The feasibility and desirability of setting up an institutional manpower research center on women should be explored. Such a center might assemble information, determine need, conduct research on women workers, and encourage other researchers to include women subjects in their studies. The center would endeavor to supplement and stimulate the research of others, rather than replace it.

Short of establishing such a center, a clearinghouse or information retrieval center, operated either by the Department of Labor or an outside contractor, should be considered. A center of this kind would be expected to deal with a full range of research on women workers, including vocational, career, training, education, and guidance subjects, as well as traditional labor market topics. It would assemble research from a variety of sources, including the Departments of Labor (Employment and Training Administration, Women's Bureau, Bureau of Labor Statistics), and Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education, the EEOC, the Department of Commerce, and other sources. It would seek to establish women's advisory committees within all government agencies, as well as organizations outside government.

Observations and conclusions about specific projects, which appear in the main body of this research, will not be summarized here. The following, therefore, are only a few general observations and recommendations.

New Research and Development

Labor Market Studies. Because changes in the aggregate demand for labor are largely responsible for the historic changes in the labor market status of women, more specific research should be directed at the impact on women of

[1] *Manpower Research and Development Projects* (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1973).

economic cycles and changes in aggregate demand, especially as reflected in unemployment rates.[2] The political implications for women of their dependency on market demand should also be explored. If women are as dependent as history suggests they are on the macroeconomic factors that create aggregate demand, then the political energies of women should be focused more on full employment legislation and economic planning designed to sustain high levels of demand.

Women also have a stake in directing demand into necessary public services where employment opportunities for women are likely to be greatest and where they are likely to benefit as consumers as well as workers.

Further inquiries are needed into the effect of the rising employment of women on the sharply declining labor force participation of men, especially those age 50 and over. To what extent does the entry of women into the market permit males to drop out, and to what extent does it tend to push them out?

There is striking need for more research and development on the labor practices of individual employers and firms. Although data on individual firms are submitted to EEOC, the names of these firms are not available to researchers or the general public. Certainly data on the practices of specific private employers should be as much a part of the public record as are data on government employers. The availability of such data would greatly facilitate the task of identifying and eliminating discriminatory practices.

Ideally, interested groups of women workers would be encouraged to use such data to examine equal opportunities within the firms where they work. Lacking such data, they might be encouraged to conduct their own studies of employer practices with respect to the hiring, job assignment, compensation, benefits, training, and upgrading of women. Support for such efforts and for research on the process and impact of self-study groups organized by women employees of specific firms would be a wholly appropriate function of government research and development.

Studies of firms, employers, and industries, even when names are not disclosed, can contribute to our general understanding of sex discrimination. A study conducted by Jerolyn R. Lyle for EEOC found, for example, that in 10 companies, at least a third of managers perceived women as less decisive than men, less aggressive, less committed to a career, less likely to use independent judgment, less interested in seeking responsibility, and less competitive.[3] Almost a third thought that workers resented or dislike having female supervisors. Almost half thought that women had higher turnover rates and absentee rates than men.

Such studies offer concrete, tangible evidence of employer attitudes that may affect their labor practices, and they point to the need for further research (within these specific companies) either to confirm or confront these attitudes and practices.

The study of grading, upgrading, and other employer practices with three firms, reviewed in chapter 2, also provides vital, tangible information on practices affecting the job status of women. Such studies should be directed especially at employers in high-wage industries, where the greatest opportunities for women presumably exist.

Antidiscrimination Agency Data. Although EEOC and other agencies charged with enforcement of antidiscrimination laws deal with matters of direct and vital concern to women workers and have access to much of the basic data on employer practices, a very limited research capability is apparently present in these agencies. It would appear, therefore, that greater effort should be made by researchers outside these agencies to focus on the operations, impact, and needs of antidiscrimination laws and enforcement agencies.

The Earnings Gap and Benefits. Efforts to determine the residual gap in the earnings of men and women, which may be attributable to discrimination, are often unintentionally misleading. Although this residual may be attributable to certain forms of employer discrimination, other sources of discrimination also make large contributions to the total earnings gap. A variety of social institutions, including job training and preparation institutions, discriminate against women by perpetuating role stereotypes that have vocational consequences. School, church, family, and the mass media are among those who discriminate. When the total range of discriminatory practices is considered, discrimination may account for virtually all of the earnings gap. Employer discrimination is a particularly important part of the total, however, because many of the other forms of discrimination are merely consequent to employer discrimination. When, during times of national emergency and full employment, employers have placed women in highly untraditional jobs, other institutions usually made swift adaptations to the changing employment roles of women. Employer practices, therefore, undoubtedly remain the single most significant source of sex role stereotypes and discrimination.

The employer view that women are less committed, able, or productive workers than men needs careful examination. Ironically, much of the earnings gap may be more attributable to a superior, rather than an inferior, work commitment and performance by women. For example, Henry Ford instituted the $5 day to reduce quit rates among men and reduce drinking and moral improprieties which interfered with work and with what Mr. Ford regarded as a proper code of conduct. "Only family men deemed worthy would be admitted to the "profit sharing" of the $5 day. Women, who had been averaging $2.07 a day, were not included in the $5 day. When Ford was asked why, he replied that he thought they would get married. In fact, women . . . were not likely to drink and fail to show up for work. They did not jump from job to job. So there was no reason to include them."[4] Ford's 10 percent a week turnover was reduced to 3 percent by instituting the $5 day for men.

[2]Obviously the job problems of women transcend full employment, as the status of women in the U.S.S.R. indicates (fully employed, yet inferior). Full employment merely provides the necessary base on which to build opportunity and equality.

[3]J. R. Lyle, "Affirmative Action Programs for Women: A Survey of Innovative Programs." Report submitted to the Office of Research, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, under Contract 71-45.

[4]R. Conot, *American Odyssey* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), p. 227.

Possibly the opposite of what employers and some researchers claim is in fact true, that women's earnings suffer because they remain committed, steady, able workers, even when wage and promotional incentives are low. Males are in a better bargaining position than females because their labor is in shorter supply (at least when measured by unemployment rates). Moreover, they apparently press their bargaining position much harder than females do. If employers wish to retain males, and keep their productivity relatively high, they may need to pay them higher wages. The same may not apply to women workers. The problem, then, is not that women are less committed workers than men, but that they may be too committed and undemanding, and therefore less able to increase their compensation.

The benefits gap between male and female workers (and nonworkers) has been the subject of relatively little inquiry, at least compared with the attention given the earnings gap. These benefits are income substitutes and, as such, deserve the same attention as direct payments of wages and salaries. Inquiries should include attention to unequal benefits (pensions, etc.) within specific firms, as well as the total gap between benefits received by males and females in the economy.

Notes on Occupations and Classes. *Policy positions.* What is apparent in the research on women and work is that a priority need exists to place women in high policy and managerial positions, in more than token numbers, as a means of more directly influencing institutional policy on women. More research is needed on the specific barriers to the employment of women at these levels — barriers such as unintentional systemic discrimination (hiring through "contacts"), "old boy" networks and subcultures, formal job requirements, travel and time demands.

The position of the single, unmarried woman also needs examination. Women at professional and managerial levels are much less likely than their male counterparts to be married. If a rather large proportion of the eligibles for high policy posts are single women, special barriers may exist to their upward mobility, such as the attitudes of others and networks of associates which are often different from those of married men and women. Such networks may help or they may hinder their rise. In any case, because contacts are so vital at policy levels, more information about the work and social networks of both single and married women should be acquired.

Women at high policy levels are perhaps especially needed in those organizations and public agencies concerned with vocational education, licensing, apprenticeship, manpower, career guidance, job placement, personnel operations, and graduate and professional education (especially at the doctoral level).

Working class. A good deal of research attention has been devoted to professional/academic women, who are at the top of the job status pyramid, and to the poor and welfare recipients, who are at the bottom of that pyramid. There has been a dearth of research on women who fall between these two groups, and who can appropriately be called working-class. These women work at ordinary blue- and white-collar jobs, and they may be either stable or marginal workers, but they are not usually poor or on welfare. Though this group makes up the vast majority of women workers, only rarely have they been the subjects of research and development efforts. Among all "invisible" women, they are perhaps the least visible. Yet their attitudes and their work have serious implications for both the labor market and the women's movement.

Homemakers. Because homemaking is an occupation much like any other, and homemakers obviously contribute to national production directly and through their husbands, children, and communities in which they function, it would seem appropriate (1) to consider their contribution in calculations of the gross national product and other measures of national productivity; and (2) to consider them part of the labor force in allocating public resources to labor.

The CETA Program. Without carrying out a second, and very different study, of the female experience in CETA (see chapter 8), this reviewer cannot draw conclusions about CETA research and development needs.

What is strikingly apparent, however, is that (1) data on women in CETA need to be collected and analyzed; (2) women staff or participants within individual prime sponsors and projects need to form core groups for purposes of data gathering, outreach, and advocacy; (3) these core groups should operate also at the national policy level, helping to shape and stimulate research, development, and projects suited to women's needs; (4) to stimulate such activity, local core groups might review the contents of this document, and others, to extract the data and analysis most appropriate to individual cases; (5) consideration should also be given by such core groups to the possible uses of outreach to homemakers, community women, and consumer groups, especially through leaders of community organizations.

"Knowledge and Policy in Manpower." A report on the Manpower Research and Development Program of the Department of Labor, *Knowledge and Policy in Manpower*, recommends actions with respect to program content that have implications for women's studies.[5] These include the following:

1. Opportunities to build upon current knowledge

Longitudinal labor force research. This reviewer's experience with the National Longitudinal Survey data tapes suggests that ways should be found to improve the utilization of the data tapes by researchers outside the Center for Human Resource Research at Ohio State University, which makes the tapes available. Conferences and meetings with NLF staff, together with other users (and potential users) might help to identify the many problems these users may experience in handling the tapes. Other consultation services should also be extended to users. Such services and consultations have fallen far short of need.

Noneconomists should also be encouraged to make greater use of the data. Their questions and communication style will probably be different from those now in common use,

[5] *Knowledge and Policy in Manpower, A Study of the Manpower Research and Development Program in the Department of Labor* (Washington: National Academy of Sciences, 1975). ETA-ORD—NTIS, PB 249698/AS.

and the difference might enrich the uses of the data. Concerned women (as individuals or groups) should also be involved in formulating questions that researchers, using the data, might examine. Researchers and technicians, often remote from women workers and the dialogues about women's issues, can benefit from the policy guidance of those closer to the scene. Often the researchers' questions provide no usable information, and even when information is usable, the style of communication (verbal, as well as numeric) may obscure its usefulness.

Empirical and theoretical studies of labor markets. "These studies should address: (a) the impact of institutional policies and practices, especially those within firms, on occupational mobility, discrimination in hiring, promotion, layoff, and the effective utilization of manpower resources and (b) labor market operations, with more intensive application of the methods of social science disciplines other than economics.[6]

The implications for women's studies are clear: inquiries ought to be made into institutional sex discrimination.

Studies of the labor market problems of the disadvantaged. Such studies would address cultural factors, attitudes, aspirations, and beliefs of women with respect to work.

2. Opportunities for new knowledge related to continuing issues

The demand side of manpower problems. Such studies would address, for example, the effect of changing technology on the employment of women.

The effects of collective bargaining and labor agreements on manpower utilization. Studies might measure the influence of unionization on the pay and conditions of women workers.

The interrelationships between manpower policy and other social and economic policies. These studies would include inquiries into such subjects as the effects of aggregate demand, tax law, social legislation, and other policies on the economic status of women.

3. Opportunities for knowledge on developing issues

The implications of continued high levels of inflation for manpower development and utilization and for the effectiveness of labor policies.

The impact of the unemployment insurance system on levels of unemployment.

Illegal immigration and its impact on labor markets.

The behavior of political units under CETA.

The impacts of various Department of Labor regulatory activities on manpower development and utilization (as Federal contract compliance, equal pay, and age nondiscrimination laws).

The impacts of increased labor force participation by women. "The most significant impacts to be explored involve manpower utilization within firms, employment discrimination policies and enforcement, and family incomes."[7]

The Communications Gap. Although the development of specialized language in the social sciences may be inevitable, too often the result is mere obscurantist jargon, both numeric and verbal. This lack of clarity is found in research on women and work, as in other academic research, and it acts as an important barrier to communication and problem solving.

If social science research is to contribute to our common understanding of social issues, far greater public demands must be made on the intelligibility of academic communications. Clarity, simplicity, example, explanation — the basic elements of style — are requirements that publications subsidized by public funds should be expected to meet. The Federal Government, in its wisdom and practical concerns, might perform a useful service to the academic community and its audience by requiring comprehensible communications from social scientists.

The communications gap might also be narrowed by encouraging research that connects more directly with the realities and practical needs of programs and field operations. In this way, the communicators may be more closely attuned to the vocabulary and concerns of their readers.

As for publications distribution, the required forms of government publications might be questioned, and the imposed limits and restrictions that tend to make publications less attractive, less readable, and less physically manageable (weight and size).

Let's Do Something!

CHILD CARE

It appears from the research (1) that inadequate child-care arrangements may make it difficult or impossible for many women to work and (2) that most women prefer noninstitutional care for their children. Women's preference for having their children cared for by their own or neighboring families, rather than in institutions, suggests that public support for child care should enable women to choose home rather than institutional care if they prefer. Providing such options might help not only to deinstitutionalize child rearing but also to expand job opportunities for women of all classes and income levels in their own homes and neighborhoods.

Education/Training

A formidable barrier dividing the traditional occupations of women and men in our society is technology. Ours is a technological society that men alone have created, dominated by the assembly lines, auto and aerospace vehicles, skyscrapers, electronic devices, etc. To cut people off from technological knowledge as women have been cut off, is to virtually deprive them of participation in the development of the technological society, except as bystanders and button-pushers. Yet throughout their general education, the only vocational skill or knowledge most women receive, which is part of that technology, is in the operation of typewriters, sewing machines, and cars. Even then, their knowledge of *how* such machinery operates, on what principles, is extremely limited.

[6] Ibid., p. 36.
[7] Ibid., p. 38.

Because women commonly pursue technological subjects in some other societies, we can assume that the aptitude, interest, and need are perhaps equally present in American women and greater, in any case, than is generally recognized. The need is not only for vocationally oriented skills and knowledge, but for understanding that will alter the almost total dependency of women on the men who develop and repair the technological devices that shape our lives. Such knowledge should not be specialized and purely vocational, but on the contrary, should be as much a part of the common learning of females as are the liberal arts.

Some recognition should also be given to the fact that much technical knowledge is acquired at home, by fathers who may teach their sons, but rarely their daughters, the use of common tools and technology. Thus, females usually come to "shop" and other technical programs in public schools with significantly less preparation for them.

Attention also needs to be directed to the role of mathematics as a "critical filter," one that often prevents women from entering technical, scientific, and various occupations where math is prerequisite. Females are less likely than males to go beyond the required math courses in school, and they are more likely to suffer math anxieties that limit their job options. Programs to reduce these anxieties may be useful, as well as programs for making math instruction more comprehensible and much more closely related to the specific tasks performed in occupations requiring math. Furthermore, job analyses of technical and scientific occupations might indicate the extent to which the varieties of math are actually used on the job, and might thereby make some of these occupations more accessible to women.

The scope of this review has not included an examination of career and vocational education. Although these subjects are intimately related to the work opportunities available to women, they fall within the jurisdiction of the U.S. Office of Education rather than the Department of Labor, and deserve a far more comprehensive treatment than could be provided here.

It might be noted, however, that women are now half of enrollees in vocational education schools, but they are confined largely to programs leading to nonmarketable skills or "women's work." Half of females in vocational education are in home economics, and another 25 percent are in office practices.

Also worth noting is the fact that, of 400 area vocational school directorships, 93 percent are held by men, and, as of early 1976, there were still 17 single sex public vocational schools in the country.

The home economics taught in vocational schools tends to address the domestic roles of women exclusively, neglecting roles in the community, politics, consumer activities, learning, and organizations.

Employment

The outreach approach to recruitment-training-placement has proved successful with minority males in apprenticeship and skilled trades programs and with minority females in technical-professional occupations. The approach should be equally applicable to other jobs and to those white women who are also unable to find suitable employment. Relative small programs that are active in job development and that are tailored to the needs of both employers and women would presumably be as effective with white women as with minorities.

Group supports have been effective with black women who need jobs, just as they have been with people who face other shared problems such as obesity, emotional disturbances, alcoholism, addiction, etc. Jobfinding clubs, based on group supports, have also had successes.[8] Psychologist N. H. Azrin, for example, set up a jobfinding club in Carbondale, Ill., and recruited 120 people who had been jobless an average of 6 months. Half joined the club and half received no special help. Club members had special counseling on preparing resumes, checking want ads, tracking down openings and dealing with discouragement. They met often to discuss experiences. With 2 months, 90 percent of club members had jobs, twice the rate of the control group. Club members received 33 percent higher pay than the controls. The project was extended to jobless mental patients, former alcoholics, and retarded and handicapped people. Placement took longer, but 90 percent reportedly found work.

Since many women (as well as many males, and younger and older workers) need or prefer part-time work, and since recession emphasizes the need for shared work, major goals of job development might be: (1) the creation of more part-time jobs, especially in the primary labor market; (2) the upgrading of part-time work to benefit levels commensurate with full-time work.

Also, because women prefer and are more likely to take jobs close to home, the possibilities of locating more jobs in residential neighborhoods, and especially in community, health, and education services, should be explored fully.

Organizing

Perhaps the most unexpectedly neglected subject relating to women and work is "organizing," and two of its specific forms, "unionizing" and "politicizing." Federal legislation has sponsored, or facilitated, organizing efforts among the disadvantaged in antipoverty and community programs, so it is equally appropriate that sponsored research explore the relationship between women's job status and organizing efforts aimed at their special needs.

About 12 percent of women workers were unionized in 1972, compared with about a third of men workers.[9] Since unionization has had a major impact on the benefits and rights claimed by men workers, it would follow that unionization of women might yield similar benefits.

Not everyone can be trained and placed in the most desirable jobs. There are too few of these jobs to go around. What remains for those who cannot move up is to change and upgrade the jobs on which they work. Unionization has

[8] *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 27, 1976, p. 1.

[9] Carolyn J. Jacobson, "Women Workers: Profile of a Growing Force," *AFL-CIO American Federationist*, July 1974, p. 7.

been an important vehicle for upgrading jobs and the benefits offered workers.

More information is needed on the ways in which the politicizing of women and organized efforts to raise levels of consciousness have influenced their work and their lives. Social benefits and employment benefits are usually allocated in response to organized pressure groups. The Civil Rights Act and its antidiscrimination coverage are themselves evidence of such responses. Indeed, few benefits, public or private, flow to any group without the exercise of organized influence, and the general rule is applicable in the case of larger political demands (such as high levels of aggregate demand) as well as more specific benefits targets (such as the provision of public day-care centers).

"Manpower" and Related Terminology

The dominance of males in the labor force historically has tended to masculinize the vocabulary of occupations and work. As noted in chapter 9, the Employment Service has made an important stride in neutralizing work terminology by revising the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*. Another important step has been made in changing the title of the "Manpower Administration" to the "Employment and Training Administration." Despite this change, references to "manpower" are still commonplace and may remain so despite efforts to diminish its use. The term "employment and training" cannot always and easily be substituted for the word "manpower." Indeed, no single-word synonym exists which can be substituted for the various uses of the word. Consideration should be given, therefore, to devising a suitable synonym. "Laborpower" is one possibility, but there are others. Whatever the case, continuing efforts should be made to strike the word "manpower" from the vocabulary of employment and training because of its significance as a generic label for work and the labor force.[10]

The Uncertain Future

Employment trends do not tell much about the labor market prospects of women. Indeed, the social currents that produce these trends are complex and unpredictable enough to baffle even the most expert forecasters. At best, they can say only that *if current trends continue*, they will affect women in specified ways. They cannot say that the trends *will* continue, for they cannot foresee the possible interference of war, revolution, energy crises, new technologies, new values, and natural disasters.

Current trends in technology continue to open jobs to women by substituting machines for muscle. Blue-collar jobs have become more accessible, although women's participation in the skilled trades is still minimal. Technology has also — most notably with office machines — opened jobs to women in white-collar occupations. Future technologies will open new jobs and close old ones, but it is hard to foresee which jobs will be affected, since technology may strike as capriciously as lightning. Though women will be, in a sense, again "struck" by technology, no strong trends are yet apparent that they will have much greater access than in the past to the mysteries of technology, finance, organization management, private and public policy.

Trends that may open atypical jobs to women include: (1) An oversupply of highly educated women who, in a better market, would enter teaching, but who may be compelled to seek work in managerial and other atypical occupations; (2) a growing interest among blue-collar women in the skilled trades; and (3) greater participation of women in politics, law, and the legal means of opening restricted occupations.

The development of a service society over the past decades has also brought many women into the labor market, but the future of many service occupations is uncertain. Insofar as such occupations depend, probably more than others, on affluence and growth, their future strength is highly speculative.

One of the major occupations of women, teaching, is, paradoxically, at the mercy of declining birth rates. The fewer children women have, the fewer jobs will be available in teaching and other occupations that service the young.

Yet the decline of husband-wife families as a proportion of all households, from 71 percent to 67 percent in the 5 years beginning in 1969, suggests that women may become increasingly available for careers.[11] One in three adults is now single, widowed, or divorced. Other figures also indicate upward trends in the labor force participation of women. In husband-wife families, the number of working wives increased 205 percent and working husbands 27 percent between 1947 and 1975.[12] In 1948, 26 percent of working wives with school children worked, and in 1974, 51.2 percent worked.

Women's prospects obviously will depend heavily on the strength of aggregate demand and on their organized ability to reduce sex stereotyping in the home, school, and workplace. In a strong labor market, women would also be much more inclined to unionize, thereby upgrading their jobs and forming needed links with a politically and economically potent sector of the market.

Even if future trends could be predicted reliably, the most critical issues would remain unsettled. These have to do not with what *will* be but with what *should* be. These issues cannot be ignored, though they go far beyond the intentions here. Equity for women has been discussed within the existing system, its market and its institutions. The system itself has not been assessed.

While more and better jobs are sought for women, over the long run questions must also be raised about the extent to which the jobs most people have are obsolete and/or undesirable, and the extent to which the hours people work

[10]Editor's Note. — But for the persistence of an editor (female, be it noted), the word manpower would not have appeared in this publication at all except when enclosed in quotation marks or part of a formal title. The editor's reluctance to accept "laborpower," which the author favored, stemmed from the lack of consensus about an acceptable synonym, and the resulting danger of running afoul of charges of adding to the jargon that pervades the social sciences in manpower as well as other fields. Nevertheless, the author should be credited with a valiant effort to heed her own injunction about the search for a synonym. Readers may add the tyranny of editors to their list of complaints.

[11]Juanita Kreps, *The New York Times*, Apr. 19, 1976.

[12]*Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 2, 1976, p. 1.

should be reduced rather than increased. To what extent are many products needed or wanted? Of those that are, to what extent can they be produced by new technology rather than human labor? To what extent can and should individuals perform most services for themselves — perhaps better than others can do for them? To what extent is the voluminous paperwork generated by office workers and professionals expendable and disposable? To what extent can administrators and managers be replaced by various forms of self-government?

Should society allow the expert knowledge and skill of the professions and crafts, for example, to be increasingly hoarded and monopolized, as is now the case? Because most of this knowledge is produced from public subsidies, should it not be entirely in the public domain, with access to it not only allowed but encouraged? Are formal schools and teaching to a large extent obsolete, given the pervasiveness of written, visual, auditory, and experiential sources of knowledge?

Does society want, and can it afford, to reduce greatly the number of hours people work, especially in jobs that offer fewest intrinsic rewards and lead to the greatest work dissatisfaction? Is it possible and desirable to make a more equitable division of the labor people are asked to perform, as well as a more equitable distribution of national income and wealth? What social policies would lead to ampler and cheaper housing, food, and other living necessities?

To what extent can new technology and capital intensive industry relieve us of unwanted labor? Commoner claims that the profit motive has led to capital- and energy-intensive technology, thus wasting energy and creating shortages of capital and surpluses of labor.[13] Although the products and byproducts of the profit motive may often be undesirable, can these not be reshaped by public policy, while retaining the advantages of technological substitutes for human labor?

What *does* and what *should* society value? How can human experience be made more joyful, meaningful, secure? In what ways is work only a component part of what one might call a life force, which encompasses all of human activity, and to what extent is this life force nourished, or weakened, by the excesses of competitiveness, authority, materialism, stratification, and the work ethic that may be found in the marketplace? How can rewarding and trusting relationships among people be encouraged and enriched, especially among those of diverse social backgrounds? How can opportunities for artistic and self-expression be made more widely available to people?

How can an untamed market's devastating impact on cities and communities be tempered by planned growth and the stimulation of community caring? What about the community force, the volunteer force, the learning force? Must they always be eclipsed in national priorities by the demands of the labor force? How can society move away from arbitrary authority and toward self-government in all aspects of social life?

These and other questions, although they may seem wholly extraneous here, must inevitably be dealt with in considering the future of the labor market. They are perhaps especially relevant to the subject since women have played such a central role in the community — in determining human values, in dealing with individuals as whole people rather than as segments of work-home-school, and in vitalizing the society's life force.

These are long-range concerns and are meant to supplement, and certainly not distract from, the pressing and legitimate concerns about equity for women in the existing system and its labor market.

The consequences of a commitment to low growth, conservation, and the principle that "small is beautiful" can work grievous hardships on women, minorities, the unemployed, and others if this conservationist reevaluation of work is not balanced by a significant redistribution of national income employment, and resources.

Whatever the future may bring, it should be a matter of some comfort and pride to women that their general position in the labor market has tended over recent decades to improve rather than worsen. Most importantly, women have increased their options, their opportunities for independence and autonomy, and their ability and right to perform tasks previously forbidden them. The democratic ideology, economic growth, and the law have become increasingly supportive of their new roles and opportunities, even though the earnings gap between males and females has widened somewhat and even though women are still victimized by stereotypes.

[13] Barry S. Commoner, *Energy and the Economic Crisis* (New York: Knopf, 1976).

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Where to Get More Information

For more information on this and other programs of research and development funded by the Employment and Training Administration, contact the Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20213, or any of the Regional Administrators for Employment and Training whose addresses are listed below.

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